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## Why a Nazi gunman ran amok

Drivers  
praise  
new  
circuit  
Motor racing

Section Two, cover story

## Play Formula 1 Dream Team

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THURSDAY 7 MARCH 1996

40p (LR 45p)

## Cliff, the rock of ages

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# Care in the community

He went berserk and stabbed his mother 43 times with a 12-inch Bowie knife. When his 11-year-old brother tried to intervene, he stabbed him 25 times before clubbing them both with an iron bar. Later, he said: 'It was inevitable'



Victim: Smith killed his mother Gwendoline after a row.

GLENDA COOPER

A judge yesterday highlighted how the Government's 'care in the community' policy had turned into a nightmare when a paranoid schizophrenic discharged himself from hospital and a month later stabbed his mother and young brother to death in a frenzied attack.

At Nottingham Crown Court Anthony Smith, 24, pleaded guilty to manslaughter with diminished responsibility and was ordered to be detained in Rampton secure hospital indefinitely.

The judge, Mr Justice Latham, sought a review of the circumstances in which he received 'care in the community', saying that the case presented 'the nightmare that those who care for people with schizophrenia must fear'.

Smith was diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic in July 1995 and had been a patient at Derby City General Hospital for less than a month before discharging himself and returning home with the approval of his consultant Dr Sarah Barrett. At home he stopped taking medication.

A month later, after an argument with his mother, Gwendoline, he said he had 'just gone berserk' and stabbed her 43 times with a 12in serrated Bowie knife. When his 11-year-old half-brother David tried to intervene he stabbed him 25 times, before clubbing them both with an iron bar.



Frenzied attacker: Anthony Smith

Smith cleaned the knife, showered and changed his clothes. He then left a note on his brother's body, saying: 'I am sorry David, I love you,' before locking up the house and handing himself in at his local medical centre. He told staff there: 'It was inevitable'.

Ordering Smith to be detained indefinitely, the judge said: 'This is a case where the circumstances of this young man's release into the community, and perhaps more importantly, the circumstances of the care that he was given in the community, will have to be looked at with great care.'

His adoptive father, Peter Smith, said

yesterday: 'I knew something was going to happen from what I was learning about the illness. There was nobody else to help, it was down to me. I had nowhere else to turn. I don't want this to happen to somebody else, to some other family.'

'I have nothing to say to [Anthony] any more. I have said what I wanted to say and that is it. As far as I am concerned ... I have lost both my sons.'

Southern Derbyshire Health Trust said an inquiry would be held into the case but that an internal review had found 'no major breakdowns' in the care given. Dr Barrett, who is now on maternity leave, will not face disciplinary action.

'[Anthony] Smith was keen to return home and the consultant felt that he was ready to return to an environment where he had lived safely for 23 years, providing he took medication regularly and agreed to out-patient follow-up,' said a spokesman. 'The acts committed were totally unexpected.'

But Jayne Zito, of the Zito Trust, said the case left the Government with 'blood on its hands'. Mrs Zito, whose husband, Jonathan, was killed by schizophrenic Christopher Cunis, in December 1992, said: 'We would hope the inquiry goes one step further to show where there has been negligence in the care. How can they say there has been no major breakdown in care when two people have been killed?'



Victim: Half-brother David, stabbed 25 times

## Top judge declares war on Howard

HEATHER MILLS  
Home Affairs Correspondent

The smouldering row between the Home Secretary and the judiciary erupted into open warfare last night when Britain's senior judge launched an unprecedented assault on government criminal justice policy.

Lord Taylor of Gosforth, the Lord Chief Justice, accused the Government of introducing a torrent of ill-conceived, hasty and contradictory legislation - and he warned that it was in danger of undermining public confidence in the justice system.

Criminal law at the heart of society "should not be subject to arbitrary change by the powers that be, or to the vagaries of fashion", he said.

And, in one of the most

withering speeches in what has

become a long-running feud be-

tween Britain's most respected

Judges and ministers, Lord Tay-

lor said flatly that Michael

Howard's new proposals for

tougher sentences for violent

and hardened criminals "would

not work".

Lord Taylor has always been

careful to steer clear of judicial

involvement in politics and per-

sonal criticisms of ministers, but

last night's lecture to King's Col-

lege, London - although care-

fully worded - sets him in

headlong confrontation with

recent Conservative criminal

justice policy and in particular

that of Mr Howard. On top of

the changes in the law, courts

have been overwhelmed, Lord

Taylor said, by management

reviews which "add to the per-

vasive sense of frenzy and

uncertainty".

Lord Taylor's criticisms come

after detailed study of the Gov-

ernment's proposals and after a

succession of other senior

judicial figures - past and

present - have voiced their

concern.

But, made after consulta-

tion with other senior judges,

they will inevitably rattle the

Conservative front and back

benches, where some Ministers

and MPs have long been "gun-

ning" for judges after a series

of humiliations in the courts -

only yesterday Mr Howard was

castigated by a judge for his han-

dling of the case of the Saudi

dissident Muhammad al-

Massari. They also feel judges'

"lenient" sentences have been

thwarting the Government's

fight against crime and that the

judiciary is interfering too much

in policy.

But Lord Taylor said the last

six years have seen more Crim-

inal Justice Acts than in the pre-

vious 60. "Criminal justice law

is threatening to become an an-

omalous event. Like the budget, we

are no longer surprised if it hap-

pens we are merely curious to

know what is going to be

done next," he said.

He said that recently the law

on corroboration, the right to

silence, and committal pro-

ceedings had been changed;

sentencing policy had swung

from one extreme to the other,

and rules on hearsay and the

withholding of previous con-

victions from the jury were

under threat. "It is not just the

volume of legislation which has

become alarming, with each

successive Criminal Justice Act

treading on the last one heel's.

It is also the haste with which

each is prepared.

Delivering his lecture "Con-

tinuity and Change in the Crim-

inal Law", Lord Taylor asked:

"In stark terms, I wonder

whether a repeat rapist, faced

with an automatic life sentence,

will not think it less risky to cut

his losses by killing the only

witness to his crime?"

Lord Taylor's criticisms come



Dole in pole position for Republican ticket

RUPERT CORNWELL  
Washington

Senator Bob Dole yesterday emerged as the prohibitive favourite to win the Republican nomination to face President Clinton this autumn, as two of his rivals dropped out and polls showed him far ahead in key primaries in the next 10 days.

After eight state sweep on "Junior Tuesday", the Kansas senator has taken an imposing lead in delegates to the San Diego convention. He has 276 to just 69 for his closest rival, the publishing magnate Steve Forbes, and 51 pledged to Pat Buchanan, the third remaining contender. His sights trained on Mr Clinton, Mr Dole yesterday urged his party to put the divisive primary struggle behind it and focus on the White House.

Announcing their with-

drawals, both Lamar Alexander,

the former Tennessee governor,

and Senator Richard Lugar of

Indiana, backed Mr Dole. Even

Mr Buchanan, campaigning in

Florida, acknowledged a Dole

nomination "seems inevitable".

A poll yesterday on the eve of the New York primary

showed Mr Dole had widened

his lead in the state over Mr

Forbes to 48 per cent to 19 per

cent, with Mr Buchanan in

third place with 11 per cent.

In Texas, the second biggest

state after California and the

key prize of "Super Tuesday",

Mr Dole leads Mr Buchanan by

a two to one margin. He

received a further boost yes-

terday with the endorsement of

the state's popular governor,

George Bush Jr, son of the for-

mer president.

The threat, together with the

assertion that there would be no

surrender of IRA weapons under

any circumstances, led some

observers to view the IRA com-

ments as slamming the door to

peace.

Ian Paisley's Democratic Ul-

ster Unionist MPs called on

President Bill Clinton to with-

draw the US entry visa from the

Sinn Fein president. "The IRA

is declaring war. It is going for

the jugular," said Mr Paisley.

## news

# Doctors lambast intensive care plan

LIZ HUNT  
Health Editor

Government plans to boost emergency and intensive care were yesterday greeted with derision by doctors' leaders, patients' groups, and managers, who said that the proposals would resolve little without new funding.

To reassure the public after a series of high-profile cases sparked concern over adequate provision, Stephen Dorrell,

Secretary of State for Health, unveiled new guidelines and promised new reports this year on specific action being taken by health authorities.

Better management of existing facilities was the key, he said. He promised another Patients Charter for casualty departments and review of emergency care outside hospitals.

He warned health authorities that their commitment to paediatric intensive care (PIC) is to be reviewed immediately.

Mr Dorrell said the issues raised by the report earlier this week into the death of 10-year-old Nicholas Geldhard would have to be addressed. He said that the report had revealed "important failures in the service he received".

Nicholas was ferried between four hospitals in the search for vital treatment, after being refused admission to PIC units in Manchester, Liverpool, and Sheffield because they had no beds.

The Secretary of State backed the expansion of the High Dependency Units (HDUs), an intermediate level of care which would free up more IC beds.

Mr Dorrell's statement to the Commons yesterday will push the service higher up the health service agenda, following scores of cases in which patients were transported hundreds of miles to find beds, were refused admission, or forced to wait on trolleys in hospital corridors.

Critics say without extra funding, improvements will be erratic. They point to the increase in emergency admissions, up 13 per cent since 1992.

Mr Harman, Labour's spokeswoman on health, accused Mr Dorrell of failing to address the real cause of the crisis, a shortage of beds and specialist staff.

"It is a disgusting insult to doctors who agonise as they have to turn away desperately ill patients, for the Secretary of State to accuse them of misusing intensive-care beds," she said. The Intensive Care Society says there is a shortfall of 500 IC beds. The Government maintains that there are 2,500, although the figure includes coronary-care beds.

James Johnson, chairman of the British Medical Association's Consultants' Committee, said Government proposals had to be backed by new resources.

Mr Johnson said operations were being cancelled because of a lack of beds. Earlier this week it was revealed that the liver of Ecstasy-victim Leah Betts was sent to Spain after two British transplant centres had turned it down, because although they had suitable patients, they had no IC beds.

**Budget crisis decision put off**

Councillors in Liverpool postponed their crisis budget meeting till the last possible moment as they sought a way to bridge a £44m shortfall without cutting more than 800 jobs.

Unions are threatening industrial action if the council imposes compulsory redundancies, and several hundred angry council workers lobbied the town hall. The councillors agreed to adjourn until 10.30am on Sunday, with a midnight deadline by which they had to set their budget for 1996-97.

## Drivers fleeced

Motorists can pay twice as much for spare parts from franchised dealers. Which? magazine found Volkswagen parts for a Golf 1.6CL were nearly four times dearer than could be bought independently. Ford's prices were 65 per cent higher for brake pads and 50 per cent higher for fuel pumps.

## New death probe

Two High Court judges quashed a verdict of accidental death and ordered a fresh inquest into the case of a man who hit his head in a fall but was kept overnight in a police cell because an ambulance crew thought he was drunk. John O'Reilly, 64, from Coventry, died later in hospital.

## Brady bid fails

The Moors murderer Ian Brady lost a claim that newspaper photographs of him in a maximum security hospital invaded his privacy. Mr Justice Jowett refused his High Court application to challenge a Press Complaints Commission ruling that the photographs in *The Sun* were in the public interest.

## Tower jobs safe

The jobs of warders at the Tower of London and other Historic Royal Palace workers will not be privatised. Tenders had been sought but the Government decided that none of the private companies bidding for the work could deliver the services cost-efficiently and to the high standards required.

## 21-hour lift ordeal

Firefighters released a 28-year-old woman from a lift in which she had been trapped for 21 hours. The woman had been working alone at an office in Cheapside in the City of London. She was discovered when her worried husband went there and heard her cries for help.

## PC murder trial

The first policeman in Britain to be charged with murder on duty was committed for trial at the Old Bailey on April 17. Metropolitan Police marksman Patrick Hodson, 48, is accused of shooting clairvoyant David Ewin, 38, in south London on February 28, 1995. He died in hospital two weeks later.

## Matching inflation

British couples will spend an average £9,247 each to get married this year, up £394 on last year. There will be an estimated 300,000 weddings in 1996, the typical couple having been engaged for 22 months with the bride 26 and the groom 28, according to the annual survey by Wedding and Home magazine.

## THE INDEPENDENT ABROAD

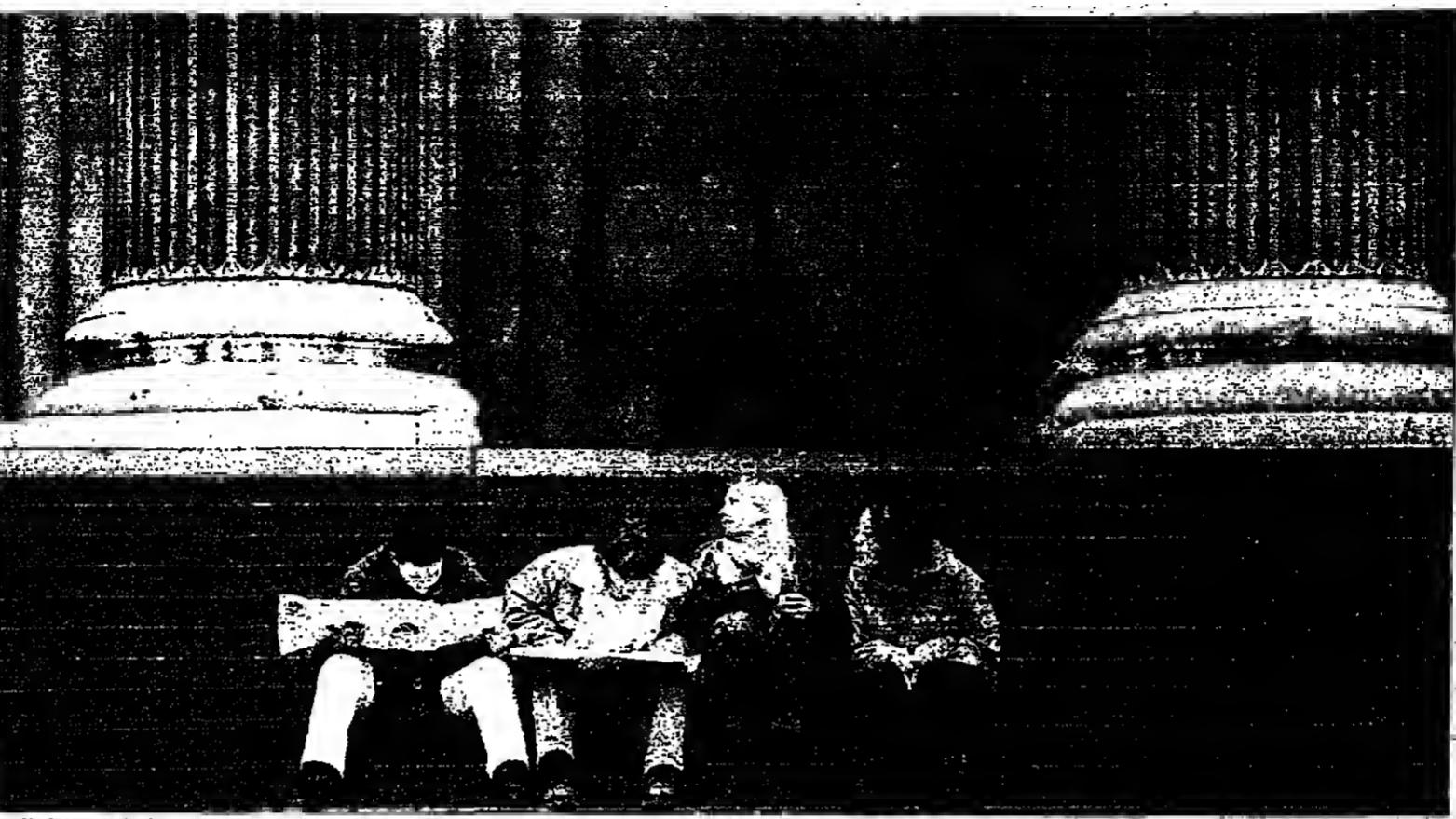
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Belgium	£8,800	Italy	£4,500
Canada	£6,800	Madagascar	£2,250
Cyprus	£21,200	Malta	£3,000
Denmark	£1,047,18	Norway	£1,200
Irish Rep.	£1,450	Portugal	£2,250
France	£1,114	Spain	£6,200
Germany	£1,450	Sweden	£1,200
Greece	£1,050	Switzerland	£14,000
Luxembourg	£1,650	USA	£3,000

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### IRA bombings: Hotels hit by cancellations as Americans stay clear of danger



Capital appeal: A group of young tourists taking a break on the steps of St Paul's Cathedral in London yesterday

Photograph: Edward Webb

## Tourism pays for return of terror

CLARE GARNER

The resumption of IRA violence has hit hotel bookings in London, casting a shadow over the British Tourist Authority's disclosure yesterday that a record number of overseas visitors came to Britain last year.

A total of 23.6 million tourists - 12 per cent more than the previous high of 21 million set in 1994 - came to Britain in

1995 and spent a record £11.7bn, up 18 per cent on 1994. These figures were boosted by a big rise in visitors from North America - up by 10 per cent to a record 3.9 million.

The collapse of the ceasefire, however, throws doubt on whether these trends are set to continue. Many London hotels suffered cancellations during the recent spate of bombings and some say they have yet to

recover business.

Bookings at the Britannia International, close to last month's IRA bomb in Docklands are down. General manager Eric Lucht said: "We had a 20-25 per cent cancellation rate at the time of the bombings, particularly from the American market. Now we have a 30 per cent reduction in bookings."

Gillian McLorlan, reservations supervisor for the

Grosvenor House Hotel, said: "At the time we had cancellations and didn't pick up ad hoc bookings as we usually would. We are not as busy as we would expect for April."

The Forte Crest Hotel, in Regents Park, central London, had 10 cancellations after the first bomb. "Funny enough it certainly seems to be the Americans and Britons," a spokeswoman said.

The London Tourist Board

admitted that if the bombing campaign was kept up it would damage the market. "We know that tourism was up during the ceasefire," said LTB press officer Louise Wood.

"We've recently had three incidents. If that happened again it certainly wouldn't be good for tourism but it's difficult to put a price on it and assess what it might do."

## US ambassador slated over Adams visa row

RUPERT CORNWELL and ALAN MURDOCH

Jean Kennedy Smith, Washington's Ambassador to Ireland, has been reprimanded by Secretary of State Warren Christopher for punishing two diplomats who opposed her decision in January 1994 to recommend that a US entry visa be granted to Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president.

Ms Kennedy Smith defended herself yesterday saying that she had always encouraged a "frank discussion" of policy issues among embassy staff.

However, the State Department report into the matter is a scathing indictment of her style. It said the two diplomats had been excluded from so-called functions and given critical performance reviews.

Although it recommends that "disciplinary action" be taken against her, what will happen remains to be seen. The sister of Senator Edward Kennedy and brother of the murdered President, she is a political appointee of President Clinton. In addition, the visa decision is believed here to have helped the peace process.

## Dry run for Docklands blast

The IRA rehearsed the Docklands bombing, which ended the ceasefire, before the Government announced plans for elections in Northern Ireland, writes Will Bennett.

The news of elections was widely blamed for derailing the peace process, but terrorists carried out a dummy run with the Ford lorry eventually used to carry the bomb more than three weeks before it exploded in London on 9 February.

Scotlands Yard said yesterday that an IRA team arrived on a ferry at Stranraer in Scotland on 15 January and are thought to have driven the lorry along the

route which they took to carry out the attack at South Quay, which killed two people and injured over a hundred. They returned to Ireland the next day.

Commander John Grieve, head of Scotland Yard's Anti-Terrorist Branch, said yesterday: "Because it was under its command, final, covert identity, it looks that it was a reconnaissance or dummy run to see how far they could get away with it."

Speculation suggested that the bombing was the IRA's response to John Major's announcement that elections would be held. The plan, unveiled by the Government, followed the Mitchell Report on the peace process, was blamed for provoking an end to the ceasefire.

But the Mitchell Report, which said there was no realistic prospect of the paramilitaries agreeing to the Government's demand to give up their weapons before all-party talks, was published on 24 January.

The dummy run, more than a week before, shows that IRA contingency plans to bomb London were more advanced than previously thought. They may have planned to end the ceasefire regardless of the Government's reaction to the report.

## Cheesemakers choked by Brussels food ruling

KATHERINE BUTLER  
Brussels

There is growing unrest among Tory Eurosceptic MPs who have been angered by Mr Clarke's remarks over a single currency, a proposal by Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, for a foreign affairs spokesman for Europe, and the European Court of Justice ruling enabling Spanish fishermen to sue for £30m compensation for being barred from British waters.

Some MPs are threatening to renege on the White Paper if it is put to the vote next Thursday.

International items of food and drink, but it has thrown the Danish dairy industry into chaos by ruling that Greeks and Greeks alone, can make feta cheese.

As a concession to the Danes, who mass-produce the crumbly white cheese, they will still be allowed to export their imitation cows' milk feta to markets outside the European Union. Within the EU, only cheese made in Greece from the

milk of local ewes or goats will be allowed to call itself feta.

The British government submitted 33 foods linked to specific geographical regions for registration and 26 of them have been included. The commission said it was still vetting applications for a further seven items including Cornish yarg cheese, Whitstable oysters and Dorset knob biscuits.

However, Britain's best known cheese, Cheddar, has been deemed so famous that it has lost any unique link with its original home in Somerset. The same goes for French Brie and Camembert, Holland's Edam and Gouda and Swiss Emmenthal which the commission said anyone can now manufacture.

Two countries, Sweden and Ireland, could not think of a single item of food or drink they wanted to claim as their own.

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**Smoking and medicine:** World-wide profits from cigarette sales continue to grow as doctors warn of Britain's new health crisis

## Lung disease 'time-bomb' threatens the young



LIZ HUNT  
Health Editor

Lung disease among Britain's young is now a major health problem, doctors warned yesterday. A new study has revealed that up to half the children under five suffer from acute coughing and wheezing.

The wide-ranging review of lung disease at the end of the 20th century, published by the British Lung Foundation, highlights the growing threat of tuberculosis, occupational asthma, and the toll still taken by smoking-related diseases.

"Lung disease in babies and children may be a time-bomb waiting to explode," said Michael Silverman, a professor of child health at Leicester University, at the launch of the The Lung Report yesterday.

"Urgent research is needed into wheezing in the very young. This may be the period when the seeds of long term lung problems are sown," he added.

However, the report focuses

mainly on the young and reveals that a quarter of all admissions to children's wards are for lung problems. During winter months, GPs and hospital services are "overwhelmed" by demand from children with acute respiratory infections.

The impact of childhood lung disease can also be long-term, according to Professor Silverman. This leads not only to asthma, but also to chronic lung disorders in middle and old age. Early on, a child's social and educational development can be harmed by regular school absences.

Babies born very prematurely are most vulnerable. A disease known as CLD (chronic lung disease of prematurity) causes breathing problems and affects the ability of children to exercise and to withstand air pollution, possibly with lifelong consequences. Over 30 million antibiotics are prescribed for respiratory infections each year. The foundation yesterday launched an appeal to fund a

## BAT draws on massive Third World craving

TOM STEVENSON  
City Editor

British tobacco companies are still raking in enormous profits thanks to the insatiable demand for western cigarettes around the developing world. Figures from British American Tobacco (BAT), one of the UK's largest companies, confirmed that countries such as India, China and the former Soviet Union cannot get enough of the weed that the West is increasingly giving up.

Sales of brands like Benson & Hedges, Silk Cut and Lucky Strike soared 18 per cent last year, with BAT selling a total of 670 billion cigarettes in almost every country in the world. That was 100 billion more than in 1994, taking BAT's share of the world tobacco market up to 12.4 per cent.

Global sales of cigarettes reached 5,422 billion sticks in 1995, representing a pack a week for every man, woman and child in the world. Far from reducing over the past 15 years cigarette consumption has actually risen by more than one-quarter since 1980. Industry sources estimate that sales are growing annually by about 1 per cent.

BAT, and other British companies such as Imperial Tobacco, which is owned by the giant Hanson conglomerate, are cashing in on that growth. The group's exports last year in-

creased by 11 per cent and it now sells 250 brands, manufacturing in over 50 countries and owning the top-selling brand in 30 markets.

Consumption is dominated by markets which until recently have been closed to outsiders, including traditionally large consumers such as Japan, which has only just dropped the monopoly enjoyed by its state-run cigarette manufacturer.

BAT yesterday reported a 54 per cent rise in tobacco profits.

Last year it made £1.56m from cigarette sales, dwarfing the £1.05m it made from its insurance interests, Eagle Star and Allied Dunbar.

The biggest market of all is China, which experts believe accounts for one-quarter of all the cigarettes smoked in the world. BAT's Southampton-made brand State Express 555 is one of the most popular brands there. Demand is so great that the company has had to expand of its south-coast manufacturing facilities.

The other prize for western cigarette companies lies in the former Eastern Bloc market. BAT already owns Hungary's best-selling brand, Sopiane, and, recently started from scratch one of Poland's fastest growing labels, Jan III Sobieski. Sportsman sells well in Kenya and Uganda, while Scissors is India's most popular brand.

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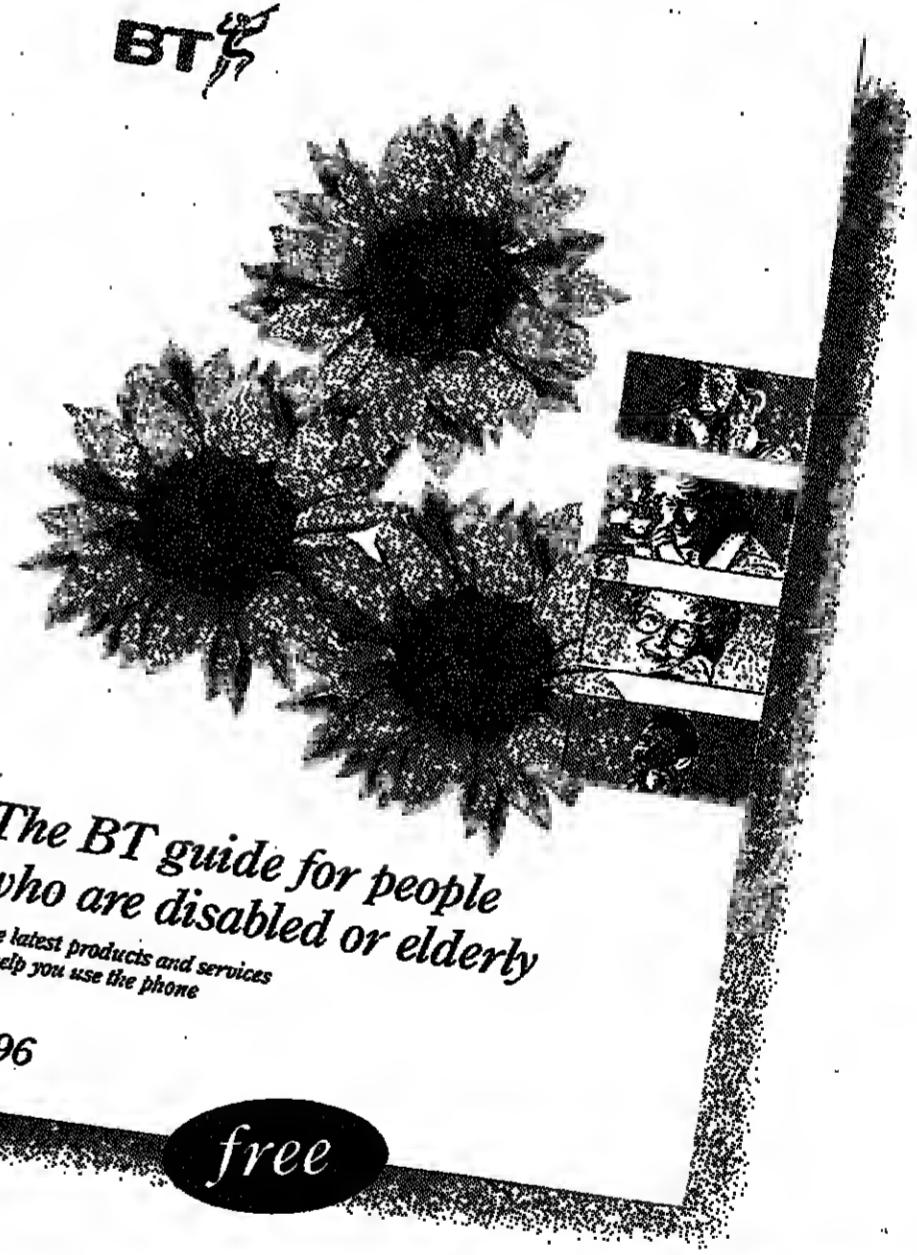
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## news

# Masari ejected from own dissident group

JOHN LICHFIELD

Within hours of his legal victory over plans to deport him from Britain, the leading Saudi dissident Mohammed al-Masari has been ejected from his own organisation.

A spokesman for the Committee for the Defence of Legitimate Rights said yesterday that Mr Masari – the man at the centre of the arms-and-bananas row – had been asked to leave after “differences” with his co-founder, Dr Saad Faqih.

Other sources within the organisation suggested that Mr Masari had been fired as the committee’s spokesman for taking too extreme an Islamic view, at the expense of purely Saudi and political concerns.

But this was denied by another source close to the dissident group who said the arguments were “personal and administrative”. “This is just the



Mr. Masari: Reconciliation efforts are under way

between the two men within two to three days. One of the mediators is George Galloway, the Labour MP for Glasgow Hillhead, who has championed Mr Masari since he was ordered by the Government to leave Britain for the Caribbean island of Dominica in December.

It was this decision to deport

Mr Masari, in response to Saudi pressure, which was challenged on Tuesday at the Immigration Appellate Authority in north London. Judge David Pearl ordered the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, to reconsider Mr Masari’s claim for political asylum. Judge Pearl accused the Government of trying to “circumvent for diplomatic and trade reasons” its obligations under the UN convention on refugees.

It remained unclear last night why Mr Masari was thrown out of his group so soon after a court ruling. Saudi dissident

sources suggested that his colleagues might have hoped that the British Government was going to do the job for them.

Mr Galloway confirmed yesterday that he was trying to “expedite a reconciliation”. He said the differences were personal but declined to comment further.

The CDLR, the most prominent Saudi opposition group, campaigns for democracy and against alleged corruption in the Saudi royal family. It was formed in 1993 by Mr Masari, 49, a professor of theoretical physics, Dr Fiqih, and four other scholars. They left Saudi Arabia for Britain in 1994 after Mr Masari and others were arrested and allegedly tortured.

The British Government said it had decided to expel Mr Masari because his attacks on the Saudi royal family jeopardised billions of pounds in British exports – mainly of arms.

## National chooses Nunn but the best



Face of success: Trevor Nunn's work has earned both critical acclaim and huge profits

Photograph: Philip Maer

## JOHN McKEE

Trevor Nunn yesterday put his global success on hold for five years to accept one of the most prestigious jobs in British arts – director of the Royal National Theatre, in London.

Nunn, the 56-year-old director of world-wide box-office hits such as *Cats*, *Les Misérables* and *Sunset Boulevard*, was selected over the younger contenders Sam Mendes, the 30-year-old artistic director at the Donmar Warehouse, in London, and Stephen Daldry, 34, who runs the Royal Court theatre, also in London.

In 1968, aged 28, Nunn became the youngest ever artistic director of the Royal Shakespeare Company, where he remained until 1986. His revivals, including *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Porgy and Bess*, received wide critical acclaim.

Nunn, who takes over the £90,000 post from Richard Eyre in September 1997, said: “I’m just breathless with anticipation. It is time to do something in a more focused and concentra-

ted way and stop this globetrotting. It’s a thrilling challenge. He was the first choice of a special selection committee, which included the playwright Tom Stoppard and the producer Michael Codron.

Stoppard said yesterday: “He’s very, very likeable as well as being very tough. It’s quite a rare combination of qualities which fits the job perfectly. He’s the best possible outcome at the moment and I’m very relieved and glad he’s agreed to do it.”

Nunn, who has various successful productions around the world and is at present editing his film adaptation of Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night*, is to work for the National Theatre exclusively for five years. He will have to negotiate government subsidy, help balance the books and direct the artistic programme at the company’s three theatres – the Olivier, the Lyttelton and the Cottesloe.

Richard Eyre said: “I am absolutely confident that we have the man best qualified to run the National Theatre.”

## Refugees ‘forced onto the streets’

HEATHER MILLS  
Home Affairs Correspondent

make their way straight to the Home Office on the day of arrival. They also deny benefits to those appealing against an immigration officer’s refusal. As asylum seekers are not allowed to work for six months, they will have no means of survival.

Mr Blake, representing the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, said the removal of benefits was inconsistent with the purpose of social security legislation.

It was, he alleged, motivated by the desire to deter asylum seekers, in breach of Britain’s obligations under the UN Convention on Refugees.

The Government is contesting the claim. It had been due to fight on a double front, but it successfully put off an embarrassing High Court challenge by two London Tory councils by offering to pay 80 per cent of the extra charges the councils will incur by having to house refugee families.

The hearing continues today.

## DAILY POEM

## Knock Knock

By Alan Brownjohn

*Do I need them? The glasses on my face?  
The coat snatched to cover me? Not questions that  
I pose  
Warm indoors while thinking Nude is beautiful.  
But having unlocked the front door on to space  
And stared out into it to discover all  
Of nobody there, and no neighbour to tell me whose*

*Loud knocking that might have been. I feel quite bold.  
Because I don’t shiver... Except, I can’t, my skin  
Has suddenly felt content with nothing more  
Than taking on, like clothes, the outer cold  
– And the notion of re-shutting the opened door  
Seems to be receding. With no one to let in  
I could go on standing in the freezing air  
While my will to speak or move drained right away.  
And the dark fastened hard on my illuminous  
Nakedness. And then, if I called, “Who’s there?  
And heard – Bonaparte! I’d say, “Ridiculous!  
Bonaparte qui?... Bon appartenir à l’ouïe.”*

Alan Brownjohn’s poem is one of a feast of contributions to the 35th anniversary issue of the *London Magazine*, under Alan Ross’s fine editorship since 1981, and able to claim publication in various incarnations since 1732, writes Catriona Lake. John Fuller, Fiona Sampson, Gavin Ewart (his last poems) and Anthony Thwaite are well represented, but there are, too, essays, reviews, drawings, photographs, travel pieces and tributes from and to Franz Kermode, Thom Gunn, Bert Haan, R.B. Kitaj and John Tavener, among others. This bi-monthly treasure house in book form cannot be more highly recommended.

Alan Ross has agreed that *Independent* readers may take out subscriptions at a reduced rate of £25 (instead of £28.50) by writing to *London Magazine*, 30 Thurloe Place, London SW7, and quoting *Independent* Offer.

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## politics

# Press ruined me, says Aitken

CHRIS BLACKHURST  
Westminster Correspondent

Jonathan Aitken, the former Chief Secretary to the Treasury, yesterday accused the press of costing him his ministerial career, causing "enormous damage" to his reputation and putting intense pressure on his family.

Towards the end of his appearance before the Trade and Industry Select Committee inquiry into BMARC, the arms firm when he was once a director, for sending arms to Iran

via Singapore, Mr Aitken turned on the media and Gerald James, his former company chairman.

He claimed Mr James's allegation that he must have been "blind and deaf" not to know the company's guns were going to Iran, supported by "a small fan club" of journalists, had done him great harm.

He was virulent about his former BMARC colleague, "Gerald James should be taken off to the funny farm or he should be put on a charge of perjury, to which he could no doubt

successfully plead diminished responsibility," said Mr Aitken.

With his wife, Lorraine, sitting behind him, Mr Aitken made an emotional and theatrical appeal to the committee, which has a Conservative majority, to make a "fair, impartial and thorough" assessment of the evidence. He insisted there had been no scandal. "There was no wrongdoing by anyone at BMARC and there was certainly no wrongdoing on my part," he said.

Earlier though, Keith Hampson, a Conservative committee

member and long-time supporter of Michael Heseltine, the Deputy Prime Minister and former President of the Board of Trade (it was Mr Heseltine who in a surprise statement to the Commons last summer confirmed the earlier disclosure in the *Independent* that there was evidence BMARC guns had gone to Iran and invited the committee to investigate) had taken Mr Aitken to task for his recollection of his directorship of BMARC.

Mr Hampson queried Mr Aitken's claim that Project Lisi, Mr Aitken stuck to his claim that he did not recall seeing any reference to Lisi.

He said that in the minutes for the meeting of 27 June 1989 – which Mr Aitken did not attend, but as a director, he would have received the minutes – the second phase of Lisi, Lisi II, was "mentioned twice in a very prominent way." Lisi II appeared in a list of future sales, which strangely, commented Mr Hampson, otherwise detailed contracts by their country of destination.

Mr Aitken stuck to his claim that he did not recall seeing any reference to Lisi.

Mr Aitken also dismissed suggestions that he should have been suspicious about a small country like Singapore ordering 140 naval cannons.

He accused Granada TV's *World in Action* programme – which he is suing for libel – of "suppressing" an interview with a defence journalist, Paul Beaver, who said it would have been possible for Singapore to have had a genuine use for the guns.

## Foreign policy is 'sullen and anti-German'

PATRICIA WYNNE DAVIES  
Political Correspondent

The anti-German attitude of an increasingly Euro-sceptical Conservative Party came under fierce attack last night from Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader.

Denouncing the "sullen xenophobia" driving Government foreign policy in a foreign affairs speech in London, Mr Ashdown said that rebuilding alliances, especially with Germany, was the number one foreign policy task for the next British government.

"One of the worst aspects of Britain's current political debate is that it has become acceptable in Conservative circles to talk about Germany and the Germans in the same tone which English politicians reserved for the Jews 80 years ago and for the Irish a century ago."

"The tone we hear from some who should know better, and from a Europhobic press which supports them, seems tinged with an envious bitterness about a Germany which has regained its place as Europe's strongest economy and established a thriving constitutional democracy."

Earlier, Mr Ashdown and Charles Kennedy, the Liberal Democrat foreign affairs spokesman, predicted that there would be little in next week's White Paper on the Inter-Government Conference that

would induce the party to support the Government when the paper is debated in the House – in contrast to the support it gave during the Maastricht treaty.

The Liberal Democrat leader said in the speech to the Royal Institute of International Affairs that since the old foreign policy anchor of the Berlin Wall had come down, "nostalgia mixed with Europhobia has shut off intelligent debate". What was needed was a new international strategy.

Urging the need for "preparing for the day when we Europeans have collectively to manage our own security and defence", with less input from the US, Mr Ashdown said progress towards an effective common foreign and security policy within Europe should be seen as serving Britain's interests, not threatening them.

Britain should also demand radical reform of the United Nations, including a military planning staff to oversee UN peace-keeping operations and the establishment of a pool of UN peace-keepers. It should push for the empty Greenwich Royal Naval College to be used as a UN staff college, he said.

Mr Ashdown emphasised that while he would back EU defence and security decisions being made on a majority vote, states should retain a veto on whether to deploy troops.



On a roll: Michael Portillo, Secretary of State for Defence, and Vice-Admiral J.R. Tod watching the roll-out of the Anglo-Italian EH101 helicopter at its UK production base in Yeovil, Somerset, yesterday

Photograph: Tim Cuff

## Ashby backs move to help gay couples

JOHN RENTOU  
Political Correspondent

David Ashby, the Tory MP who last year lost a libel case involving allegations of homosexuality, voted with Labour to defeat the Government to give gay couples the same right to inherit the tenancy of their homes as heterosexuals.

In a Commons committee on

the Housing Bill, Mr Ashby voted for an amendment put by Gleoda Jackson, Labour MP for Hampstead, which would give same-sex partners the right to succeed to a tenancy if they have been living together for more than 12 months and the partner who holds the tenancy dies.

Mr Ashby's switch overturned the built-in Tory majority of one on the committee. Ms

Jackson welcomed the move as a "simple matter of justice", and said she would write to the Prime Minister to ask him to back the committee's decision.

It is likely, however, to be reversed in a vote of the full House of Commons, with the support of the Ulster Unionists, although there could be a further revolt from Tory gay rights supporters such as Edwina Cur-

rie and Michael Brown, the only acknowledged gay Tory MP.

Mr Ashby said: "Why should we not allow succession? What is fundamentally wrong? Are not we in a society that is changing? And if it is not changing, should not we in Parliament be changing it?"

Under existing law, only married or heterosexual couples can succeed to tenancies on death.

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## Party grandees clash over the vote for Europe

- Lawson urges currency referendum
- Clarke enthusiastic on single market

Lord Lawson yesterday lent his authority, as a former Chancellor, to calls to John Major to promise a referendum on any move to join a European single currency.

In a very different analysis to that of the current Chancellor, Lord Lawson told the Treasury Select Committee that if the Government decided to join a single currency, then before the Commons voted the issue should be put to the British people in a referendum. "I think realistically a referendum is bound to happen," he said. "It seems to me it would be sensible to make that clear now."

Lord Lawson's comments will be music to the ears of Tory Eurosceptics who want the Prime Minister to announce a referendum and include the pledge in the party's general election manifesto.

But earlier this week Kenneth Clarke said a referendum should only be considered when and if the Cabinet decided to join. He had claimed the Prime Minister was of the same opinion. The Chancellor, however, is virtually the only Cabinet minister left who will express any sympathy for a single currency. Though Lord Lawson left office in 1989 after six years at 11 Downing Street his doubting view is more prevalent.

"The reason I don't wish to see us join is because it is because it is essentially a political enterprise which is at best premature and worst extremely damaging," he said. "It is likely to be damaging while the peoples of Europe are not in favour of submerging their autonomy and sovereignty and loyalty into a wider European entity. To do so prematurely would be to strain the political and democratic fabric, very, very considerably and give a bad day for the most unpleasant national, xenophobic demagogues in every country in Europe."

But the committee, hearing opinions on the final stage of economic and monetary union, was offered a very different scenario by Lord Kingsdown: the former Governor of the Bank of England Robin Leigh-Pemberton. A single currency enthusiast, he disagreed with Lord Lawson's assertion that project was essentially politically inspired. "I see it as a logical extension of the single market."

The debate had been, too much concentrated on sovereignty and constitutional issues, he said. More attention should be paid to where the jobs were going to come from over the next 20 years. If the day came when Britain had to make a decision and it was clearly put to the people "that our pockets are at stake", he believed there would be a much more pragmatic approach.

Lord Kingsdown thought it was "more likely than not" that a core of countries would go ahead with a single currency.

Inside  
Parliament

Stephen  
Goodwin

There was a feeling in Germany and France that there was "a tide in human affairs", and that January 1999 might be the best opportunity. Other members might be the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

The former governor warned that a referendum would mean a "period of great difficulty for sterling" when defensive measures would have to be taken.

One solution that is not likely to re-emerge is the "common currency" or "hard Ecu" to run parallel with national currencies which Lord Lawson advocated as Chancellor and was then taken up by his successor, John Major. Lord Lawson said that without warning him, the then Prime Minister, Baroness Thatcher, had told her European partners Britain would be putting forward an alternative plan for monetary union.

"I was faced with the task at very short notice of working one out," he said. Lady Thatcher was able to present her plan, but it was not one he wanted to revive.

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Growing discontent: Chris Kidd, one of Kew's specialist gardeners striking over management's 0.9 per cent pay offer

Photograph: John Voos

## Kew's budding revolt spreads to picket line

BARRIE CLEMENT  
Labour Editor

Chris Kidd might be forgiven for comparing some of his managers to the *Aristolochia Grandiflora*.

According to Mr Kidd, the flower "looks like a toilet, smells disgusting, has the colour of rotting flesh and is pollinated by flies". Mr Kidd, along with 80 of his colleagues at the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, is not best pleased with his superiors.

Tomorrow they are staging the first strike since the renowned horticultural centre was established more than 200 years ago.

Mr Kidd is one of the world's leading specialists in the practical propagation of lowland tropical rainforest herbaceous plants and is paid a basic salary of £8,500 a year. With overtime at weekends in the Princess of Wales Conservatory, he makes £11,000 for overseeing the development of 1,600 varieties.

Management say they want to help us by introducing performance-related pay, but the system they want to introduce will be based on the subjective judgement of line managers. If you don't get on with your line manager, you've had it."

The expert botanists and horticulturists have been offered a basic rise of 0.9 per cent plus performance pay which the GMB general union claims would mean an average 2.5 per cent increase, but management puts the figure at 6.5 per cent.

Union officials have suggested, not without irony, that salaries might be concomitant with growth of the flora for which they are responsible.

In that case Mr Kidd would have done rather well. The flower of his beloved *Aristolochia Grandiflora* was a highly unusual 5ft 6in long. What might push his salary into six figures, however, was his propagation last year of the world's biggest water lily with a diameter of 8ft 7in. While management hopes to keep the gardens open despite the stoppage, visitors will be faced with a picket line of highly qualified strikers.

Most of the youngest specialists have degrees in horticulture, while Mr Kidd, who at 28 is among the older members of staff with six years' experience at Kew, came to the job via the Portsmouth Parks Department. He now holds the Kew diploma in horticulture which qualifies him to undertake work at a post-graduate level.

With him on the picket line tomorrow will be Jane Allen of the Palm House who is an expert in *cyads*, extremely primitive plants which existed at the time of the dinosaurs.

Also present will be Dusha Hayes, who like Mr Kidd is an active member of the GMB and who nurtures Kew's unsurpassed collection of orchids.

It will be a highly unusual picket line tomorrow with little more than a mild tickling off for colleagues who ignore it.

## Pig organs cleared for human transplant

TOM WILKIE  
Science Editor

Surgeons and scientists should be allowed to transplant the hearts and kidneys of genetically engineered pigs into humans, but forbidden from using body parts from chimpanzees or baboons to save human lives, according to a panel of experts.

The Nuffield Council on Bioethics yesterday called on the Government to set up a national advisory committee to xenograft animal to human organ transplants - to put controls and regulations in place before the first experimental are carried out on human patients.

Professor Albert Weale, of the University of Essex and chairman of the Nuffield Council's working party, said: "Xenotransplantation promises much - the shortage of donor organs can be overcome. Around 5,000 patients are on the waiting list for transplants but because of the shortage of donated human organs, less than 3,000 transplants were performed in 1995."

Because the benefits could be so considerable, Professor Weale said the working party had decided that "it would be ethically acceptable to develop the technique experimentally".

But he stressed it should proceed with caution. In September last year, a British company, Imutran, announced it had transplanted organs from genetically engineered pigs into monkeys and hoped to transplant pig hearts into humans within the next couple of years.

Despite the hype surrounding the experiments, their outcome is unclear. The working party stressed that the first transplants on humans would be

highly experimental and recommended that patients should seek independent advice. Only adults in terminal conditions should be considered initially.

By ruling out transplants from chimpanzees, baboons and other higher primates, the council delivered a discreet rebuff to developments in the US. In 1984, in the highly publicised case of "Baby Face", a young baby received a baboon heart, but survived only 20 days. In 1992 and 1993, American surgeons tried again by transplanting baboon livers into two patients - neither survived longer than 70 days.

The Nuffield Council argued that although higher primates made technically suitable donors, their close genetic relationship with humans made it morally unacceptable to use them for that end. The working party also said that primates breed too slowly to be a ready source of organs.

Worse however was the possibility that primates might harbour viruses or other diseases which could prove both virulent and infectious in humans.

Pigs are more suitable because they are prolific breeders, not an endangered species, and because we already use them in ways that we do not use chimpanzees - such as eating them. "If eating animals is allowed for the pleasures of the palate," Professor Weale said, "it would appear logical to allow their use for transplantation."

Pigs organs are so "foreign" that they provoke rejection by the human immune system. The animals must therefore have human genes implanted in them to "humanise" their organs.

## Scientists welcome move to clone sheep

CHARLES ARTHUR  
Science Correspondent

Sheep could in future be even harder to tell apart, following the announcement by British researchers that they have managed to clone sheep - a technique which could revolutionise livestock breeding.

The researchers from the Roslin Institute in Edinburgh said their breakthrough could be used to create identical animals, and to produce genetically manipulated meat and milk on factory farms.

But their work was attacked yesterday by the pressure group Compassion in World Farming, which warned that it could generate unexpected problems.

"We don't think it's good news for farmers, because it could reduce biodiversity," said Tim O'Brien, the group's research director. "Cloning that results in identical animals could mean that if one gets infected with a deadly disease, all the others will - it could eliminate the whole flock."

Ian Wilmut, an embryologist at the Roslin Institute, said the technique - the clones were produced by removing cells from a sheep embryo and growing them - could be used to produce uniform animals for meat production. "It's to the advantage of the farmer to have a uniform group of animals. They reach slaughter age at the same time, and it's to the advantage of the slaughterer to have animals of a uniform type," he said.

Davor Solter, of the Max Planck Institute for Immunobiology in Freiburg, Germany, called the work reported today in the science journal *Nature*, "a cause for celebration".

"Aside from its intrinsic biological interest, this achievement opens up the possibility of manipulating the sheep's genes before cloning them," he wrote in a commentary.

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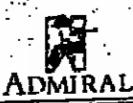
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# Captain Bob scents the end of his odyssey

RUPERT CORNWELL  
Washington

For Bob Dole, that Captain Ahab among modern-day Republicans, the obsessive quest of almost two decades is nearly over. In politics, of course, nothing is ever absolutely certain. But, barring calamity, his party's presidential nomination, the great white whale of his ambition, is his for the taking.

In a life studded with bitter failures - few more bitter than his failed races for the White House in 1980 and 1988 - and in which nothing has come easily, Tuesday evening was surely one of the sweetest moments. Damned as a Washington insider, derided for his feeble campaigning and half written off by the chattering classes only 10 days before, Mr Dole was a winner, and how.

The results were devastating: a primary sweep, an eight-for-eight night in baseball parlance, in which Mr Dole never dropped below 40 per cent and Pat Buchanan, his closest rival, not once exceeded 29 per cent. Mostly the margins were far wider: 55 to 20 over the publisher Steve Forbes in Connecticut, 53 to 21 over Mr Buchanan in Maryland and 67 to 20 per cent over Lamar Alexander in Rhode Island.

In presidential races these are knockout blows. At this point only a monumental blunder or (less improbable) an incident, raising grave doubts about his age or health, can deprive him of the prize. And Mr Dole's every opponent knows it. Even Mr Buchanan, rightly assailing the Senate majority leader for running a campaign that was "clueless, just an endless series of clichés," acknowledges his victory "seems inevitable".

Even before the New England polls had closed on Tuesday, Senator Dick Lugar, who never made it out of single figures, bowed to the inevitable. Two hours later, well before complete results were available, Mr Alexander called it quits, returning from Florida to Nashville, in his native Tennessee, to make it official.

And by mid-morning yesterday it seemed Mr Forbes could be joining them. Cancelling his stump schedule in upstate New York, the publishing magnate, who has lavished \$25m (£16.6m) of his own money on his campaign, convened an afternoon press conference to

## THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

curious replica of 1992. Then it was Mr Buchanan against the establishment candidate (and sitting President) George Bush. Today, Bob Dole is the establishment's man. Just as four years ago, Mr Buchanan's conservative populism attracts everywhere 25 to 30 per cent - but no more.

And the Republican nightmare is of another all-too-possible parallel with 1992: a harsh and divisive Buchanan speech in San Diego that only cements the party's image of intolerance and division, making it easy prey for Mr Clinton in the autumn. But Mr Buchanan cannot be ignored. Not only are the fear and resentment he voices, over disappearing jobs and corporate greed, shared by tens of millions of voters; he also represents a magnet for the 20 per cent of the electorate which went for Ross Perot in 1992, sealing Mr Bush's fate in the process.

For the moment, however, the Dole juggernaut rolls on. With Tuesday's sweep he has raised his delegate total to 276, far ahead of Mr Forbes's 69 and the 51 pledged to Mr Buchanan, and over a quarter of the 996 needed to win. More will come in New York, which sends 102 delegates to San Diego, and on "Super Tuesday" next week, when 362 are at stake.

As if his triumph was not overpowering enough already, Mr Dole yesterday tightened his grip on the two "mega-states" which vote on 12 March by securing the endorsements of George Bush Jr, the popular Governor of Texas, and his brother Jeb, leader of the Republicans in Florida. Their father too was expected to back Mr Dole. After 1992, if there is one man a Bush cannot abide, it is Pat Buchanan.

At his victory party, yesterday's flailing Republican candidate had already become Dole the nominee, with Bill Clinton not Pat Buchanan, in his sights. Unity was his watchword: "We've proved the Republican party is not splitting apart, we've found a leader to bring the party together, I will be proud to carry that banner."

But now is also time to shed Ahab's mantle. True, the Captain caught up with Moby Dick, only for the harpooned whale to smash his boat, dragging Abab down to disaster with him. Such Republicans pray, will not be the fate of Captain Dole and the their party, against Mr Clinton in November.

Buchanan: Fading, but he still cannot be ignored

moderate cloth as Dole voters, will switch their allegiance to today's overwhelming favourite.

With the contest proper all but over, it is another question which torments Republicans: how will Mr Buchanan handle his defeat? In interviews yesterday he seemed to rule out an independent candidacy, and hinted that for an acceptable price (platform concessions perhaps, or a keynote speaking slot at the San Diego convention) he would swing behind Mr Dole.

"I'm not going to do anything to help Bill Clinton get re-elected," the chastened but unbowed outsider said. But the "cause" will continue. "We do have a peasant army, we live off the land and we're going all the way." Thus 1996 has become a

day's flailing Republican candidate had already become Dole the nominee, with Bill Clinton not Pat Buchanan, in his sights. Unity was his watchword: "We've proved the Republican party is not splitting apart, we've found a leader to bring the party together, I will be proud to carry that banner."

But now is also time to shed Ahab's mantle. True, the Captain caught up with Moby Dick, only for the harpooned whale to smash his boat, dragging Abab down to disaster with him. Such Republicans pray, will not be the fate of Captain Dole and the their party, against Mr Clinton in November.



Winning ways: Mr Dole with his wife, Elizabeth, celebrating after he took a commanding lead in Tuesday's Republican primaries. Photograph: AP

## Party machine bags NY for Dole

DAVID USBORNE

The pundits are calling it the "drive-by primary" because there has been so little time for actual campaigning. Drive-by shooting might be more apt. When voters in New York go to the polls today to vote in the Republican nomination race, the rat-a-tat of verbal gunfire will be in their ears.

No one would expect it to be any different: politics in the Empire State have never been gentle. Remember four years ago, when the Democrats were agonising over their candidate for the White House? It was here Bill Clinton admitted smoking pot but not inhaling.

Taking most of the bullets this time, oddly, has been a man who is not even running for president. But the bespectacled Alfonse D'Amato, the senior senator from New York and self-declared leader of the state's Republican Party has been accused of Soviet-style machinations designed to guarantee Bob Dole wins in the state, come what may.

Mr D'Amato's first trick was to defend patently undemocratic party rules that made it almost impossible for anyone other than Mr Dole to make it to the ballot. That tactic was ruled out of order by the courts last week, giving just enough time for Steve Forbes to qualify in all 51 of New York's

electoral districts and Pat Buchanan in only 23.

But Mr D'Amato still has the cards and so too, therefore, does Mr Dole. When they enter the polling booths today, voters in New York will not be voting directly for the candidates but for the delegates each wants to send to the Republican convention. The delegates for Mr Dole are almost all high-profile and often popular names in their local districts. Messrs Forbes and Buchanan have had to scrape together delegates who are mostly unknown.

Mr D'Amato, whose other

full-time job is keeping the Whitewater affair alive as chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, has made sure that whenever Mr Dole has ap-

peared in the state he has been flanked by the mighty of the party, notably by Mr D'Amato himself and Governor George Pataki. A rally for Mr Dole in Franklin Square, Long Island, two nights ago, was a show-case for the party machine, gently purring.

"Isn't he dynamic, ladies and gentlemen," declared Joseph Mondello, the chairman of the Nassau County Republicans, introducing the candidate. Honest answer: Yes, sir-ree.

And the machine is about to deliver. Yesterday both *Daily News* and the *New York Post* joined in endorsing Mr Dole and the eve-of-voting polls all put the senator ahead of his foes.

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# international

**Middle East crisis:** Military cracks down hard in bid to snuff out local support for Hamas and its suicide bombers

## Israel puts ring of steel around the Palestinians

PATRICK COCKBURN  
Jerusalem

Israel has imposed a curfew on the 800,000 Palestinians who live in the 465 villages of the West Bank, tighter than anything seen since the Gulf war. "No one goes in and no one goes out," said Major-General Ilan Biran, the Israeli military commander for the area, adding that all males would be arrested "without mercy, in any village and town where we suspect there are terrorists".

The Israeli army has also sealed off Jericho, Gaza and the six Palestinian cities on the West Bank which came under the authority of Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, in December. Traffic is banned, supplies of food and gas are cut and children cannot get to school.

Maj-Gen Biran said: "Every potential suicide bomber and his family must know that his house will be destroyed and their communities will be punished." Mass deportation of Hamas members and their sympathisers is being considered, an Israeli tactic in the past. Abu Dis College, considered a Hamas bastion, near Jerusalem, has been closed by troops.

Israel aims to pressure the Palestinians sufficiently to create a backlash against Hamas. Its forces are closing Islamic institutions alleged to have links with Hamas, from which came the suicide bombers who have killed 57 Israelis in two weeks. Israel is also to destroy the houses of people associated with the bombers. Shimon Shitrit, the Minister of Religious Affairs, has recommended bulldozing their villages.

Benyamin Ben Eliezer, Minister of Housing, said yesterday: "We intend to hit all the leaders of Hamas." If this means assassinations, like that of Yahya Ayyash, the Hamas master bomb-maker, in January,

Hamas is likely to hit back with more suicide attacks.

Israeli actions and the deployment of troops in the West Bank and Jerusalem have paralysed Palestinian economic activity. Some 60,000 Palestinians who work in Israel have to stay at home. Hotels in Palestinian districts of east Jerusalem were yesterday handing out notices saying that they could only serve buffet lunches because their workers from the West Bank could not enter the city.

As well as trying to force Palestinians to reject Hamas, Israel aims to put pressure on Mr Arafat to arrest Hamas leaders where he is in control. Israeli leaders have threatened that if he does not eliminate the infrastructure of Hamas they will do it for him. His security forces have now arrested some 400 Hamas members and yesterday raided the Islamic University in Gaza, long a Hamas stronghold. A Palestinian court yesterday gave a life sentence to a man who confessed to recruiting three suicide bombers.

Meanwhile, an Israeli Arab truck driver has been accused of smuggling into Israel from Gaza the suicide bomber who killed 13 people in Tel Aviv on Monday. Israeli radio said an Islamic militant group paid him \$1,100 (£730) to take the bomber past border guards by hiding him in a bag. He dropped him off at Tel Aviv's Dizengoff Centre shopping mall one minute before the explosion occurred. The driver was arrested shortly after the attack. "He is in his forties and has a family. I cannot believe it," a resident of his village in northern Israel said. "He travels to Gaza daily. He brings scrap metal from there." Israel has some 900,000 Arab citizens.

The Israelis are soon to start installing the first consignments of bomb-detecting equipment donated by the US. Rafiq Hariri, the Lebanese



Photograph: David Silverman / Reuter

## Hizbollah scatters to escape revenge strikes

ROBERT FISK

"Will they bomb Dahi?" my bank manager asked yesterday, as if it was only the target that the Israelis had yet to choose. Dahi is that area of the southern suburbs where the Hizbollah maintain their Beirut headquarters; but the pro-Iranian guerrilla army has already decided where Israel's retaliation for the Hamas suicide-bombings might fall. All across southern and eastern Lebanon, their leaders have left their homes, closed the Hizbollah's offices, clinics and pharmacies and ordered their men to be ready for a sustained air attack.

In Baalbek, too, the Hizbollah moved to "safe" houses on the instructions of their Beirut leadership as Israeli jets continued to fly reconnaissance missions over Lebanon. Rafiq Hariri, the Lebanese

Prime Minister has asked Richard Jones, the new American ambassador to Beirut, if Lebanon is again to be made to pay the price for other people's conflicts. Mr Jones said he "didn't know" if the bombings in Israel would have repercussions in Lebanon. In the past, such remarks by US diplomats have usually preceded air raids.

The Hizbollah have been quite prepared to court Israel's revenge. They have now described their Monday night attack on Israeli occupation troops in southern Lebanon - which left a colonel and three other Israeli soldiers dead - as "a tribute to the martyrs who staged the suicide bombing attacks against the enemy". The slaughter in Israel, they said, was part of a "holy war". The Hamas spokesman in Beirut, Moustafa al-Liddawi, held a press conference in the city in which he described the quad-

ruple bombings and the death of at least 60 people as "legitimate and heroic operations in line with Hamas policy".

Hamas has nothing to do with Lebanon - and nothing to offer the 400,000 Palestinian refugees here whose demand to return to their homes in what is now Israel has never been addressed by the Islamic Palestinian movement. But the press conference could be regarded as another provocation. Israel cannot target Islamists in Jordan - with whom it is now at peace - and can scarcely bomb Syria since it would bring an immediate end to any chance of an Israeli-Syrian peace accord.

Which leaves only Lebanon, a country as small as Israel but one whose ability to defend itself is in inverse proportion to Israel's ability to attack it.

The Lebanese government's distress has been increased by a statement from the Israeli

Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, that he has given the Israeli intelligence services permission to deport up to 100 Hamas members from Israel and the occupied territories. If this threat is followed up, the deportees can be sent only to Lebanon; Jordan, Syria and Egypt, which is at cold peace with Israel, can no longer be used as dustbins for Palestinians whom Israel wants to be rid of.

Some Lebanese were speculating yesterday that Israel may even target Iran, which is now being blamed by Israel and the United States for inspiring the Hamas suicide bombings. Iran's Martyrs' Foundation staged a memorial service in January at Tehran's Ark Mosque for Yahya Ayyash, the Hamas bomber whose assassination by Israeli agents set off the latest bombings. It is also true that on a visit to Damascus last week, the Iranian vice-president, Has-

san Habibi, met Imad Alami, a Hamas politburo member in Syria, and Ramadan Abdullatif Challa, the head of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad movement. But Mr Habibi, who visited Syria for talks with government ministers, also met officials of the Lebanese Amal movement whose head is the speaker of the Lebanese parliament. However unlikely, no one in Lebanon doubts that Israel would use such contacts to make the case that the suicide bombers acted on the instructions of Iranian mentors.

"No Hamas people are going to be trained to be suicide bombers in Iran," a Palestinian official in Beirut said last night. "You don't need to send someone to Iran to learn how to commit suicide. You just have to grow up under Israeli occupation in the filth of the camps in Gaza and the West Bank to understand how to kill yourself."

**Kuwaiti in court for converting to Jesus**

ANDREW BROWN  
Religious Affairs Correspondent

Carrying a copy of the Bible and wearing a cross around his neck, 45-year-old Qamar Ali yesterday appeared in a Kuwaiti court, charged with converting from Islam to Christianity.

If convicted, Mr Ali faces loss of some civil rights, chief among them the expectation that if he is killed, his murderers will be punished. Under Islamic law, if a sane Muslim renounces his religion and refuses to repent, there is no penalty for another Muslim who kills him on ground of his apostasy.

If found guilty, Mr Ali will lose the rights of inheritance, the right to be married, to a Muslim, and custody of his children. The prosecution against him has been brought privately. Mohammed al-Jada, one of three lawyers prosecuting him, told the court: "We will not permit him to harm the feelings of Muslims."

"He provoked the feelings of Muslims, telling the newspapers about his conversion and distorting Islam's image," said Mr al-Jada. He said that if the court wanted a precedent, it could study a Cairo court's decision last year to end the happy marriage of an Egyptian professor, Nasr Abu Zeid, on the grounds of apostasy, although he denied them.

Mr Ali confirmed to the Kuwaiti court yesterday he was now a Christian, but told the panel it had no jurisdiction in the case. He asked the court to send the case to the constitutional court on the grounds that Kuwait's constitution guarantees freedom of belief.

The conversion contributed to the break-up of Mr Ali's marriage last year. He says he changes accommodation often as a security measure, cannot work and has not seen his children for five months because of family opposition.

Mr Ali said he had told newspapers of his conversion to publicise what he called his wife's illegal refusal to allow him to visit his six-year-old daughter and four-year-old son.

The judges will rule on 17 April whether they are competent to hear further sessions of the case.

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Kuwaiti  
court for  
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## Croat police try to seize suburb in Sarajevo

EMMA NELLY  
Hodzic

In an audacious but futile attempt to expand Croat authority Bosnia's fractious Muslim-Croat Federation, 22 Bosnian Croat policemen yesterday tried to seize control of Hadzic's third Serb-held suburb of Sarajevo reverting to government rule under the Dayton peace plan.

The Croats, who claimed to be acting on the orders of the deputy interior minister, were repelled by the UN police chief, backed by a threat of force, and deserted an hour before the scheduled arrival of a multi-ethnic federal police unit.

Yesterday morning the first of 77 Federation officers - 51 Muslims, 5 Croats and 15 Serbs, to reflect the area's pre-war mix - arrived to take over Hadzic, its wartime Serb population reduced from around 10,000 to a few hundred.

Several dozen Muslim civilians streamed across the former front line to check on the condition of the homes that they had left in 1992.

"I last we can breathe free," Danica Matic, a woman who had stayed in Hadzic throughout the war, said tearfully as Avdo Hebit, the Interior Minister, re-opened the post station. There was a loud explosion, as a door in the building had been booby-trapped, but no one was hurt.

Matic's elderly friend, Vinko Milinovic, a Croat who also stayed in Hadzic, said not to notice the bang she was hugging an old man. This is Muhammed," she cried as the two wept and exchanged greetings. "He's my neighbour, I haven't seen him since the war began."

"For years," he said, wiping his eye.

Mr Hebit was mobbed by reporters asking about the Croat incursion, about which he knew nothing. "I heard there were some police here without my

approval," he said. "I haven't been in touch with my deputy, so I don't know if he issued orders to the Croat police. But everything's going well."

Commissioner Peter Fitzgerald, head of the UN International Police Task Force, which monitors the local force, greeted Mr Hebit. "We had a few problems before you arrived," he said. The Croat police presence had caused tension with French troops from Nato's peace force (I-For), although eventually the Croat inspector had withdrawn his men.

"When I got here at about six, there were a few of them patrolling the streets," Commissioner Fitzgerald said. "I told them to leave immediately, because they were in violation of the Dayton accord. I told them to leave peacefully but said that if they did not, I was prepared to call I-For and use force if necessary."

Few of Hadzic's Serbs have remained. A few yards from the snubbing ruins of the town hall, torched on Tuesday night by departing Serbs, a man and an old woman waited with a few possessions for a lift to Serb-held territory. "I spent four years in a concentration camp [a government prison, in Tarcin, 15km away] and I don't think things have changed much since then," the man said bitterly.

"Some of the Serbs living here could have stayed," Ms Matic said. "But it's the propaganda," added Ms Milinovic.

"They were told to go - they even tried to tell me I had to leave. But I think some of them will come back, because the conditions for [Serbs fleeing Sarajevo] are not fit to live in."

Salvo Gostic, a federal policeman, smiled when asked how he felt on returning to Hadzic. "It's a little bit difficult, but it's fine," he said. "I worked in this police station for 16 years before the war, and when I saw what my office looked like I was so sad. There are a lot of explosives upstairs."

### IN BRIEF

#### US names Cold War spy suspects

Washington — Scores of Americans who helped betray United States secrets to Moscow, including information on the development of the atomic bomb in 1945, were named by the National Security Agency (NSA). It made public intercepts of decoded Soviet messages with the names of Soviet agents, including Lauchin Currie, an aide to President Franklin Roosevelt, and physicist Theodore Hall, who is now living in England. One of the messages from a Soviet spy boss in Washington also referred to an agent named "Alice" who the NSA said was "probably Alger Hiss", the former State Department official accused by then Congressman Richard Nixon of being a spy. The NSA revealed last year that Richard Nixon had been a Soviet spy in a project named Venona half a century after its start. Reuter

#### Deng 'full of zest' for Party Congress

Beijing — Deng Xiaoping (right), China's paramount leader, is in fine fettle, according to his daughter, writes Ross Poole. The government's China News Service reported Deng Rong as saying her 80-year-old father was in "very good health", sleeps well, and watches the television news every evening. "His spirits are especially good," Ms Deng said. She said China Central Television had watched the live coverage of Tuesday's two-hour opening session of the National People's Congress, an experience which many of the delegates found sleep-inducing. Mr Deng was not only awake, but was "full of zest", his daughter said.

#### Mandela in 'excellent' health

Johannesburg — Nelson Mandela has been examined and is in excellent health, his doctors said from the clinic where the South African president is undergoing medical checks. The full results will be released tomorrow. Mr Mandela said he was undergoing the tests to prove he was in good shape for a man of 77. Reuter

#### Cuba shot down planes to 'defend dignity'

United Nations — Cuba told the United Nations General Assembly that it shot down two US-owned planes because repeated violations of its airspace left it no choice but to defend "our dignity and sovereignty". Presenting his nation's case, the Cuban Foreign Minister, Roberto Robaina, blamed the White House for failing to prevent Cuban-exile groups from flying illegally over Cuba despite repeated diplomatic protests. AP

#### Colombian drug baron shot dead

Bogota — One of the world's richest drug traffickers was shot dead by Colombian police two months after he escaped from a maximum-security jail. Authorities were elated at the death of Cal Jose Santacruz Loodono, 54, considered number three in the Cali drug cartel. His vehicle was intercepted by police in the north-western city of Medellin, once home to a rival drug gang. AP

#### Panic in Taiwan over China's missile test

Taipei — Uncertainty over China's planned missile tests led people to dump the local currency, buy gold and clamour to flee islands near their menacing neighbour. An airline ticketing officer on the offshore island of Matsu said passengers were hurrying to evacuate to Taiwan before China begins its missile tests from tomorrow for one week. Reuter

#### Jail for sex con-man

Melbourne — An Australian who posed as a secret agent for five years in order to have sex with a former girlfriend was jailed for nine months yesterday. The 29-year-old man manipulated an innocent, patriotic young woman to have sex by inventing five fictitious operations to give her orders, which included oral sex to cure a fictional terminal illness, a court was told. Reuter



Glad to be home: Muslims in Hadzic waving a Bosnian flag celebrate the handover of the Sarajevo suburb to the Muslim-led government. Photograph: Michel Euler/AP

ELIZABETH NASH  
Madrid

The prospects of the Spanish conservative leader Jose Maria Aznar forming a stable government remain in doubt, despite his insistence that he could reach agreement with Catalan and Basque nationalists.

In bitter contrast to his hopes of ruling with a "new majority", Mr Aznar is being subjected to the pressures of Spain's most accomplished political hagglers, the Catalan Nationalist, Convergence and Union party (CiU).

The Popular Party, whose victory in Sunday's elections left it 20 seats short of an absolute majority, is to open talks with the CiU today that could last weeks.

The CiU, led by the astute Jordi Pujol, is making Mr Aznar sweat, partly because of its strong bargaining position and because many Catalan nationalists yesterday jammed the party's telephone switchboards to oppose the idea that their 16 MPs might back the party.

Mr Pujol, prime minister of the region that attracts most of Spain's foreign investment, tried to calm the nervous busi-

ness community yesterday by saying that Spain's existing budget needed only minor tweaking to keep the country on course for membership of European monetary union.

The conservative Basque Nationalist Party (PNV), with five MPs, said yesterday it wanted guarantees that its autonomy would be respected, plus a favourable policy on industrialisation in the region and co-operation on "methods of pacification", that is, dealing with ETA Basque separatists.

The PNV does not rule over the region, but it has been involved in talks with ETA, while the PP prefers firmer policing.

Mr Aznar yesterday won the support of four MPs from the conservative Canary Islands Coalition (CC) - a helping hand, but useless without the PNV's spokesman, Rodrigo Rato, who is handling today's talks, the principle could be unpalatable to those on the party's right and create strong internal tensions.

Mr Pujol, prime minister of the region that attracts most of Spain's foreign investment, tried to calm the nervous busi-

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## international



leads down: Russian soldiers take cover behind their tank yesterday as a shell lands in the rubble of Grozny

# Chechen rebels try to reclaim Grozny

PHIL REEVES  
Moscow

Chechen rebels yesterday launched a ferocious attempt to wrest back their wrecked capital city, on the eve of a Russian Security Council meeting to agree a strategy to end the war before it further damages President Boris Yeltsin's re-election prospects.

Reports from Chechnya suggested the fighting was the worst since Russian troops seized Grozny more than a year ago. Last night the Chechens took control of a power plant, according to Interfax news agency.

Earlier, Russian tanks rumbled into the city centre after an attempt to storm it was made by the rebels, who reportedly also occupied – then lost – a police post and attacked at least 10 Russian checkpoints, using machine-guns and rocket-propelled grenades.

The flare-up came as a welcome reminder to the Russian Security Council of the enormity of its task as it prepared to gather in the Kremlin later today to try to decide a strategy for ending the conflict. Mr Yeltsin has pledged to settle the war before the presidential elections in June, where he is facing a strong challenge from the Communist leader, Gennady Zyuganov.

Before the council will be reports compiled by two commissions, convened by the President to explore ways of solving the crisis. But few analysts hold out much hope for their success. Their chairman – the Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin – and a presidential adviser, Emile Pain – have spent most of their allotted two weeks appointing members.

Rather, this flurry of official activity mainly represents an attempt by the Kremlin to video-

the circle of blame for Chechnya beyond the presidential suite for a highly unpopular war which has claimed at least 30,000 lives. The latest victims comprise an estimated 10,000 refugees who are now living in tents and makeshift shelters after fleeing fighting in the Chechen town of Serovodsk.

Mr Yeltsin has sent out mixed messages on Chechnya – a characteristic of his government's chaotic policy in the conflict. But he appears to believe that it can be wound down by carefully targeted attacks on the rebels, while striking local agreements with peaceful areas backed by promises of investment and a power-sharing deal.

Yet the rebels – who are well versed in the art of inflicting embarrassment on the Kremlin – seem likely to carry on fighting. Nor is it clear that the Russian military, which is populated by hardliners, is under the control of the Yeltsin administration, no matter what its policy.

The President can, however, go into today's meeting armed with what he will see as one piece of good news. Reports said that the rebel leadership has lost Salman Raduyev, the 28-year-old in charge of the raid which led to a mass hostage-taking in Kizlyar, Dagestan, and the Russian bombardment of Pervomayskoye in January.

He died in hospital from head injuries, less than two months after fighting his way through the Russian lines at Pervomayskoye with more than 50 hostages. As

the circumstances of his death were still foggy, the Russians were taking the opportunity to present the Chechens as split and squabbling terrorists but, for once, their version looked vaguely plausible.

■ Russia's post-Cold War role

is to counterbalance the growing influence of the West, it

Russian Foreign Minister

Yevgeny Primakov, said yes-

terday, AP reports. Russia is

gone "too far" in befriending

the West after the 1991 Sovi-

et collapse, he told the daily

paper *Izvestia*.

## Vichy survivor denies sending Jews to death

MARY DE JEUVSKY  
Paris

A court hearing opened in Bordeaux yesterday on a nationally sensitive issue, the fate of Maurice Papon, the last representative of the Vichy regime still under investigation in France. Mr Papon, 85, was the administrative head of the Gironde region in south-west France between 1942 and 1944 and head of the department of Jewish affairs. He is accused of knowingly sending almost 1,700 Jews to their death at Auschwitz.

The hearing, which is being held behind closed doors, has to decide whether there is sufficient evidence to put Mr Papon on trial for war crimes. It is expected to last three days. The case is regarded in France as a touchstone of official attitudes to Vichy.

The investigation into Mr Papon began 15 years ago and its protracted nature aroused suspicions that it was being deliberately stalled by the late president François Mitterrand. Mr Mitterrand's own links with the Vichy regime as a young politician were revealed five years ago, and he faced repeated criticism during his 14-year presidency for his seeming reluctance to pursue French war criminals.

Mr Mitterrand's own links with the Vichy regime as a young politician were revealed five years ago, and he faced repeated criticism during his 14-year presidency for his seeming reluctance to pursue French war criminals.

He rejected the charge that he knew he was sending the Jews to their death at Auschwitz, saying: "There was knowledge of Drancy [the French holding camp for deportees near Paris], but not of Auschwitz."

## Antarctic staff lose their cold comforts

CHARLES ARTHUR  
Science Correspondent

The long Antarctic nights will this year feel a little bit longer to 275 American and New Zealand staff based near the South Pole, following a budget decision made in Washington.

They will have to forgo fresh food and letters which would normally have been provided by a supply plane in mid-June. A budget cut by the US Air Force, which provided 75 per cent of the funding for delivering goods and people to the outposts, means the first supply of winter will not come until August – five months into the almost endless nights.

The team of 262 American and 13 New Zealand staff will have enough concentrated food and heating oil to last the wait, but the cancellation is expected to have psychological effects.

"While [the plane] is not critical to their survival, it provides a very important morale boost in the middle of the Antarctic night," said Dave Lippman, spokesman for the US Naval Antarctic Support Unit. The team always looks forward to supplies, which bring fresh food, letters, photographs, presents and videotapes from the extreme isolation of the tour.

The flight takes off from Christchurch, New Zealand, and drops loads at the US stations at the South Pole and McMurdo, and the New Zealand Scott base near McMurdo.

Instead the scientists, who have made key observations in relating to the ozone layer, have continuing studies of the biology, atmosphere and history of the Antarctic "desert" will rely on telephones, faxes and the Internet to keep in touch.

The New Zealand Antarctic survey put the cost of flight support around \$1m (£52,000) in 1994-95, making up 10 per cent of its budget. But the US air force put up three-quarters of the cost, spending which has now been cut back.

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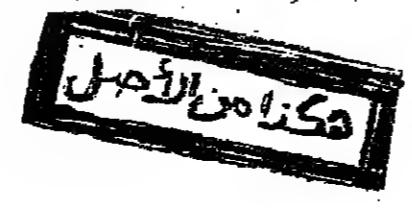
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## comment

## Don't fudge it: the European question is Germany

Perhaps what is happening to Europe is irresistible, more about physics than politics. A United Germany, with its linguistic and economic mass spreading well beyond its physical borders, is bound to dominate everyone else. It is too big not to. Germany is the elephant on the European bed, and the rest of us feel vulnerable, squishable widgets.

Germany has been the main European question since the 1870s. Attempted answers to the German question have followed in a thunderous roll-call: customs union, empire, grand treaties, war, fascism, war, division, American occupation, common market, unification, federalism. And still Germany is the great question, though one deliberately disguised in the abstract language of the EU.

For instance, after getting the final nod from today's cabinet meeting, the British government's White Paper on the Intergovernmental Conference will be published next week. Apart from Tory MPs, few people will be interested or excited by that. But had it been described, as it could have been, as "the conference on Germany", the public might have taken more serious note. And we should be interested. Apart from the frantic fringes of poli-

itics, most people have come lazily to accept the European Union as a fact of life, something that is "just there". But this isn't so. The EU cannot carry on without changing radically, and it has the capacity to destroy its old self. What is happening today, however quietly, is that the project is testing its own logic to breaking-point. The EU cannot keep growing larger, and introduce a single currency, and retain its current centralised political structure.

Poorer Eastern countries would struggle desperately, and almost certainly fail, to meet the monetary union tests. These will, in any case, cause further serious social strains in France and perhaps Germany, too, where the abandonment of the mark is unpopular. The huge transfers from rich areas to poorer areas that would be required by a single currency to avoid mass migrations imply new taxes for people who are already, by world standards, heavily taxed.

Behind those problems, and greater than them, is the question of whether monetary union would not require a single economic and fiscal policy – even a "single European Chancellor" to go along with the sim-

gle European currency. My reading of mounds of paper on the subject (let no one say the life of a columnist is all cheap gossip and warm Chardonnay) suggests there is no economic consensus about this.

In general, the left assumes the need for some continent-wide economic policy to ensure a future for Keynesian welfare states and to help the poorer regions. Nationalistic right-wingers agree, because they think the single currency is a trap leading Europe into full political union. But neoliberals and bankers disagree: they think that so long as countries are punished for over-borrowing (just as US cities are), and so long as people can travel freely from poor regions to more prosperous ones, this can be left to the market.

What I find astonishing and worrying is that this subject is treated so vaguely by the politicians who are determined on monetary union. At a meeting in Paris last year of civil servants, MPs, journalists and academics, it was clear that the French side had no agreed view on the political consequences of the monetary union to which they were committed. It seems a bit like bungee-jump-

ing without measuring the drop. There are other serious unresolved dilemmas aplenty. As Malcolm Rifkind pointed out this week, a European Union defence system embracing the former Warsaw Pact countries might tip Russia into outright hostility to the EU's plans for enlargement.

And then there is the core business of the looming conference, the cumbersome political system of the

EU itself. It simply could not cope with serious enlargement. The point was made well by Perry Anderson, writing in the *London Review of Books*. Just enlarging the Union by adding the 10 states to the east to the 17 in the west would produce institutional gridlock: "the size of the European Parliament would swell towards 800 deputies; the number of Commissioners, rise to 40; a 10-minute introductory speech by each minister attending a council would yield a meeting of five hours, before business even started."

Hence the plans for changes to the voting system, powers of the Commission and operation of the Council of Ministers to speed up decisions and stop countries blocking policy. These are, clearly, a threat to national power, but without such changes, the Union is condemned to suffocate in its fat like a beached whale.

These problems confront Europe not because of the manic power of bureaucrats, as some Tories affect to think, but because of Germany and the fear of Germany felt, in particular, by France. European federalism plus the expansion to the east has been the German dream. It gives Germany everything Germany has

wanted since it first became a European nation; great but legitimate influence, prosperity and safety.

And, broadly speaking, we should be bearish in favour of that; those are German national interests which are in every other European's interests too. But the real question is whether the full federal project, with all its unanswered dilemmas, doubtful democratic legitimacy and grand political ambitions is the only answer to the German question.

The Tory Euro-sceptics Iain Duncan Smith and Bill Cash, who have published a pamphlet on the subject, end it by stating that "The European answer to the German question is the missing piece in the jigsaw of the forthcoming Intergovernmental Conference. A failure to find it... will destabilise Europe and the world well into the next millennium."

That is going it a bit. My guess is that away from its impact on domestic British politics, which will be concerned mainly with referenda, fish, Sir James Goldsmith and similar matters, the conference will swap stronger institutional powers for more modest political ambitions. I also suspect that the timetable for the single currency will slip badly. And in this Europe, might not a normal German democracy flower, hugely influential but not resented for its size because of the sheer ordinariness of its ambitions?

A Europe dominated by Ordinary Germany would be perfectly tolerable. The German language would become everyone else's second one. German culture and finance would be widespread and powerful. We in Britain would grow to regard Germany and its surrounding shadow of nations with the same mixture of exasperation and closeness that Canada feels for the United States. There are many worse fates. It would be a good and honest thing if next week's paper from the British government said so.



ANDREW MARR

The alliances of our nations make serious European war seem almost unthinkable

# 'There is an educational nihilism in Britain that could prove catastrophic'



BRYAN APPLEYARD

Two phrases leap out from yesterday's remarks on educational standards by Chris Woodhead, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools. The first is "white boys" and the second is "anti-educational cultures". The first is startling because of its identification of a specific racial category associated with underachievement, and the second because it marks an acceptance that in Britain there exists a distinct educational nihilism that could prove socially and economically catastrophic.

The issue of racial differences in any area is fraught; in education it is explosive. Clearly if Woodhead had made the same point about black boys, there would have been an instant detonation. When Paul Condon of the Metropolitan Police made the statistically uncontentious observation that blacks were disproportionately heavily involved in street crime, the idea was at once buried beneath the inflammatory rhetoric of race warfare.

It is in the nature of contemporary political dialogue that there is no such rhetoric to protect whites from the revelations – often admittedly spurious – of statistics or genetics. So Woodhead is safe; his remarks will not be called "racist". But his phrase about "white boys" raises precisely the same issue as the specification of a racial category in any context. If white boys are underachieving, is it because they are white or is their whiteness simply one aspect of their cultural precarity?

In fact, his identification of a specifically white problem in education works to discredit many of the assumptions previously made about racial differences. Most studies that have attempted to link race and IQ have tended to show that whites from the revelations – often admittedly spurious – of statistics or genetics. So Woodhead is safe; his remarks will not be called "racist". But his phrase about "white boys" raises precisely the same issue as the specification of a racial category in any context. If white boys are underachieving, is it because they are white or is their whiteness simply one aspect of their cultural precarity?

However, most of the studies are compromised by fundamental conceptual flaws. First, genetics has

tended to show that racial differences are superficial; variations within a population are far greater than variations between populations. Second, intelligence is still not sufficiently well defined to make it convincingly measurable. Third, many studies suggest that changes in environment – say, moving a child from a poor area to a rich one – can produce changes in IQ far greater than any differences arising from purely inherited factors. And fourth, no such study can be convincingly scientific because of the impossibility of isolating environmental from inherited factors. In human populations.

So Woodhead's observation that whites are doing badly is strong evidence against the depressingly numerous supposedly scientific and usually dumbly right-wing studies which suggest that blacks are intrinsically intellectually inferior. That is good news, not because it undermines the serious study of racial differences but because it helps to undermine the stupid, politically corrupted study of racial differences. Obviously we may one day find something to say about mass human variation on the basis of race or genetics, but it will certainly not be a glibly mechanistic linkage of colour and intelligence.

Against the dumb left it should also be added that identifying a problem among whites tends also to discredit the belief among blindly ideological race warriors that racism is at the root of all disadvantage. In short: nothing is reducible to the more mindless slings of either the right or the left. More good news.

But Woodhead's second phrase – "anti-educational cultures" – is not – good news and it is made less good by the fact that he is plainly right.

One of the great mysteries of edu-

cation in Britain has been the quiescence of parents. No one within the spectrum of serious politics now doubts that, during the past 30 years, British education has failed. Particularly among the poorest and most disadvantaged, our standards are horribly low compared with those of other developed countries. One in five seven-year-olds in London schools scores zero in reading tests.

Worse still, our system has produced appalling social divisions. School league tables may be an imperfect guide, but the grossness of the disparity they reveal between the worst and the best is overwhelming evidence that we are busily dumping huge numbers of children into defective schools.

Yet the parents have done almost nothing. Do they protest outside the gates of these sink schools? They do not. Do they heckle the grumpy wreckers of the teachers' unions? Never. Now we have one possible explanation – the quiescence of parents itself may be part of an anti-education culture. Not enough parents take education seriously enough.

Anecdotally, I have been convinced of the existence of such a culture for some time. I have asked criminals with virtually no education why their parents did not attempt to push them through school. The answer, invariably, was: because they did not care, education was to them little more than a temporary inconvenience; it had no obvious worth.

The first official awareness of the possibility that we have an anti-educational culture came in a report from the Select Committee on Education last year. That is now endorsed by Woodhead. But how has it happened? And why are white boys such victims of this culture?

"Anti-educational cultures", he writes, "grow out of the experience of educational failure." These are carefully hedged words that do not immediately offer consolation either to the right or the left. The left, for example, may argue that unemployment produces educational despair; what is the point if there are no jobs? But this is a contemptible argument that patronises the poor by suggesting they are incapable of seeing any value in edu-

cation other than the most immediately functional. Clearly dismal job prospects do not help, but equally clearly, it is absolutely better to have some education than to have no education at all. The employment picture may change and, in any case, everybody is better off knowing something rather than nothing.

Not to believe in the absolute value of education is to be a nihilist because it amounts to a disbelief in all human culture. If, as seems to be the case, there is a bard-core anti-education group in this country, then we have some dangerous nihilists in our midst, people who are effectively writing themselves out of a constructive participation in society, not just this society but any society. We might try to

console ourselves with the thought that there will always be such an irreducible hard core. But, alarmingly, the dawning recognition of this phenomenon is accompanied by the assertion that it may be distinctively British, at least in its scale.

So the underachieving white boy phenomenon is a terrible warning. It cannot yet, as Woodhead admits, be fully explained and it may still prove less serious than it first appears. But for me it feels right. It indicates that deep in the culture there is a loss of faith, a profound disbelief in any kind of continuity or achievement. It indicates, above all, that the defence of the culture against, among other things, the moronic slogans of the right and the left is now more urgent than ever.

With the best will in the world towards our brilliant young theatrical Turks, it would have been a great mistake to have put one of them in the directorship. Trevor Nunn's first task will be to get himself accepted by the people who work there. With his spectacular career to date – head of the Royal Shakespeare Company at 28, director of musicals such as *Cats* and *Les Misérables*, and successful stage plays such as Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia* – Trevor will have no difficulty getting the building behind him.

In addition to needing the experience to be able to run three auditoria, an educational arm and an international venue, with responsibilities not only to London but to the rest of the country and to represent us overseas, the director of the National must be a politician who can deal with government ministers and Arts Council officials one moment, and then speak the language of the coal-

face to actors and technicians the next. I spent five very happy years working there as a producer, and with an insider's eye I can say that I would not want the job myself if I were offered the earth.

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The National Theatre has had only three directors since it began: Laurence Olivier, Peter Hall and Richard Eyre. Olivier, of course, was the founding spirit; and although he was not there long, he got the theatre up and running in those wonderful, heroic days when actors had the opportunity to train and perfect their craft in repertory companies.

Peter Hall was the politician par excellence. His great quality



Schoolchildren – white boys, girls, blacks – it is stupid to predict educational achievement by genes

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## Perfect casting for theatre's most demanding role

Thelma Holt applauds the choice of Trevor Nunn as director of the National



Laurie Lewis

I am delighted – and very relieved – to learn of Trevor Nunn's appointment to succeed Richard Eyre as director of the National Theatre. Although the appointment committee must have been tempted to take the advice of those, including the *Independent*, who urged the appointment of a younger director, "someone who is hungry and wants to make their reputation through their work at the National" (leading article, 20 February), I do not believe that anyone who has not themselves run a large organisation can have any perception of what it is like to run the National.

In addition to needing the experience to be able to run three auditoria, an educational arm and an international venue, with responsibilities not only to London but to the rest of the country and to represent us overseas, the director of the National must be a politician who can deal with government ministers and Arts Council officials one moment, and then speak the language of the coal-

face to actors and technicians the next. I spent five very happy years working there as a producer, and with an insider's eye I can say that I would not want the job myself if I were offered the earth.

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Peter Hall was the politician par excellence. His great quality

was that he could sup with any devil and come out of it whole. He had a high regard for talent and could gather it around him, delegate magnificently and inspire people's ambitions. Consequently, under his stewardship there was enormous variety.

Richard Eyre's great quality was his humanity. He knitted that building together when he came in, although those were times of stress. And he brought in more new work and more new directors.

Trevor Nunn is taking over at a time when risk-taking is going to be dangerous. But risks are necessary in theatre, and he will be extremely clever at taking calculated ones.

My only regret is that I serve on the Arts Council with Trevor, and I fear that his new appointment may cause us to lose him. The theatre needs him there, too.

Thelma Holt's new RSC production, *Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching towards the Somme*, opened last night at the Barbican.

## Lord Jay

It is one of the misfortunes of life that a public figure can often be associated with one inaccurate remark, taken out of context, and never intended to carry an immortal interpretation. For half a century Douglas Jay suffered as the originator of the sinister aphorism "the man in Whitehall knows best".

This is not what he said. In his masterly account of the life of Hugh Dalton, Ben Pimlott writes that "Socialism would come, not through an apocalyptic upheaval but by applying an old-fashioned British and Fabian way lessons drawn from administrative experience. Implicit in this view was the discovery of the enormous powers of the state." It was this discovery – epitomised in Douglas Jay's famous remark after the war that "The Gentleman in Whitehall is usually right" – that found expression in Labour's election programme.

Jay as president of the Board of Trade 1946-67, proved by his actions that no minister was more effective in promoting a dispersal of industry location away from the overheated south-east of England. He was "Mr Regional Development"; he was a practical crusader;

against unemployment anywhere in Britain. And Jay spent the last quarter of the century trying to tell the rest of us that "the man in Brussels does not know best".

His personal relations with Harold Wilson were simply awful. He told me and several other young MPs separately (when he was still a member of Wilson's cabinet) and I was a humbly Parliamentary Private Secretary that the Prime Minister was a "little crook". The circumstances of his dismissal encapsulated the relationship. In late August 1967 Jay was on holiday in Cornwall – he never went anywhere else, being a creature of unalterable habits. Wilson was in the Isles of Scilly. Could the Prime Minister see him in London the following week? Jay absolutely refused to break his holiday. So the Prime Minister arranged to meet him at a convenient railway station in south-west England, where he asked for his resignation.

There could hardly have been a more cogent response to a subsequent friendly letter from the Prime Minister praising the great drive Jay had brought to the regional policy and the diversification of in-

dustry in the development areas, "a task with which you are associated – which indeed you initiated – more than 20 years ago". Jay's terse reply was: "My dear Prime Minister, thank you for your letter in which you record your request to me to help in the reconstruction of the Government by placing my resignation in your hands, which I hereby do, though with the conviction that a great deal remains to be done by this Government in the promotion of social justice, the expansion of exports and the reconstruction of the development areas to which, as you say, I have already devoted much effort in the last three years. I am grateful for the opportunity to have done so. Yours sincerely, Douglas Jay." The Prime Minister could be forgiven for disliking him.

Jay was born in 1907. His academic career was glittering.

"Douglas was even cleverer academically than I was," opined Dick Crossman, his junior contemporary at Winchester and New College, Oxford and fellow cabinet minister in the first Wilson Government. "And much cleverer than Hugh Gaitskell." He added for good measure. "At New College, Jay came under the spell of H.A.L. Fisher, David Lloyd George's Education Minister who encouraged his young men to go into public life.

Herbert Fisher consoled himself for having lost his parliamentary seat by writing the greatest history of Europe. An MP from 1916 to 1922, he put through a major education act in 1918 and went down with Lloyd George. Late on Sunday evenings, Fisher would invite undergraduates to his study in the warden's lodgings, to enjoy the company of Gilbert Murray or Hilaire Belloc, Graham Waller (an original Fabian) or General Jan Smuts. There Fisher would recapture the ecstasy of public life and imagine himself back at the Cabinet table in Downing Street or the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva or in the smoking room of the House of Commons.

A few – a very few – undergraduates were invited by Fisher to his country cottage in Surrey. At the close of the weekend, Fisher and his guests would walk up to the village of Churt for dinner with Lloyd

George. There at either end of the table, Jay recalled, "sat thesists and antithesis, the well-born academic and self-made Welshman, united by their passion for the game of politics from which both had been forcibly refined." Jay told me it was then that he got his first taste for public life. Scholar of New College, his First in Greats led inexorably to a Fellowship of All Souls (1930-37). Whether this was entirely beneficial for Jay's progress in the House of Commons is a matter of conjecture: Fellows of All Souls don't always prosper there as their talents suggest they should (Sir John Foster and Sir Keith Joseph are recent examples), as they have an air of unworldliness about them. It is Jay's case this was compounded by a seeming certainty that he was right in any ministerial or political decision.

Sir Isaiah Berlin, his friend

for nearly 70 years, states that: "Douglas was often foolish and certainly fanatical on any subject. Once he had made up his mind nothing would dislodge his opinion. He had fixed habits never to be altered." In politics extremely clever men may be wise to conceal their cleverness; Jay in the view of his contemporaries found this difficult.

He was chosen by Geoffrey Dawson as one of his bright young men to work on the *Times* (1939-33). In 1937, after four years on the *Economist*, he became the city editor of the *Daily Herald*, which was the springboard for his career as a Labour Member of Parliament.

During the war Jay worked in the Board of Trade. In his diaries Dalton wrote: "After some tumult, Morrison suggested I should be chairman of a ministerial sub-committee to hustle all this along (dispersal of industry policy). I said I would but insisted that we must have Douglas Jay as Secretary. He had been my dynamo on this engine in the war; thereafter we succeeded in greatly speeding up new factory building in these areas".

After a short period as personal assistant on economic matters to the Prime Minister Clement Attlee, the leadership found Jay a seat at Battersea (the by-election was on 25 July 1946) after persuading the sitting Labour MP, F.C.R. Douglas, to accept the Governorship of Malta. In those days the lead-

ership could organise people they particularly wanted in the House of Commons.

Jay's style can be gauged from his maiden speech (on the coal situation) on 16 October 1946, in which he recalled that he first joined the Labour party out of resentment at the way the home industry "in fact Jay was superbly informed and in close contact with young economists such as Professor James Meade, whom he thanked in the introduction to his book *Socialism in the New Society* (1963).

After a fleeting period as Parliamentary Private Secretary, Jay leaptfrogged to the position of Economic Secretary to the Treasury, Sir Edward Playfair, the distinguished Treasury civil servant, points out that in these days junior ministers were not bound by convention. But I am sure he would not wish to be remembered by posterity as the man who not merely had to have coal carried to Newcastle but had it hauled up in an oil-burning locomotive. What we want is to feel comfortable in our coal mining areas. And it seems to me that the first essential short-term route to more production is an increase to the labour strength in the industry.

It was not simply out of politeness that the member who followed him, Major Gwynn Lloyd George, son of the ex-

Prime Minister who had inspired Jay at Churt, should congratulate him on a remarkable maiden speech: "He departed from what is nearly always the practice in this House in debates on coal, of confining one's remarks to the home industry." In fact Jay was superbly informed and in close contact with young economists such as Professor James Meade, whom he thanked in the introduction to his book *Socialism in the New Society* (1963).

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When he became Financial Secretary to the Treasury (1950-51) it was the start of a close relationship with Hugh Gaitskell, whom Isaiah Berlin says Jay "adored", and who would al-

most certainly have made Jay Chancellor of a Gaitskell Government. Exchequer, Jay had the reputation of being a "Little Englander, but it is not widely known that when Financial Secretary to the Treasury, off his own bat he ordered a ship from New Zealand carrying much-needed food to Britain to divert to India where there was a devastating famine. "Highly eccentric, idiosyncratic and unyielding" as Isaiah Berlin describes him, this was an act of international socialist belief.

Many of his friends were

very distressed at the split up in 1972 between Douglas and his first wife, Peggy, herself a formidable power for good in the Greater London Council and in particular in the Inner London Education Authority. After leaving Government, Jay was a valued director of Courtaulds for three years. He devoted himself ever more to opposition to British entry to the EEC, and his most recent writing characteristically was a diatribe against the European monetary system for the Common Market Safeguards Committee.

I however prefer to remember him as the effective minister who both in the first Labour

government and subsequently as President of the Board of Trade brought much needed jobs to my constituents and those outside London and the Midlands who would otherwise have been unemployed. For the Member of Parliament for Battersea to have devoted his energies to this cause reflects well on the writer of one of the most interesting political autobiographies that have been produced since the war. *Change and Fortune – A Political Record* (1980).

Tan Dalyell

**Douglas Patrick Thomas Jay:** politician and economist; born Woolwich 23 March 1907; Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Supply 1940-43; Principal Assistant Secretary, Board of Trade 1943-45; MP (Labour) for Battersea North 1946-74, for Wandsworth, Battersea North 1974-83; Economic Secretary to the Treasury 1947-50; Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1950-51; President of the Board of Trade 1964-67; Director, Courtaulds 1967-70; created 1987 Baron Jay; married 1933 Peggy Garnett (two sons, two daughters; marriage dissolved 1972); 1972 Mary Lavinia Thomas; died Merton Lovell, Oxfordshire 6 March 1996.



Jay with Harold Wilson, in whose government he served as President of the Board of Trade (1964-67)

Photograph: Hulton Deutsch



Jay at Ashridge, Hertfordshire in 1949. Photograph: Hulton Deutsch

## Michael Brown

Michael Brown was one of the most distinguished British landscape architects since the Second World War. He designed the landscape setting for many celebrated metropolitan public housing developments of the late Sixties and Seventies and his practice became the acknowledged leader in the field. He was a dogged eccentric who got his way because of an almost messianic conviction in his approach to design.

Following an initial training as an architect at Edinburgh University, Brown worked for a while in the architect's department of London County Council. In 1955, after a year of marriage, he applied for a scholarship to study furniture design at the University of Pennsylvania. He did not succeed, but was offered a landscape design scholarship instead and was fortunate to study and later teach with Ian McHarg, whose strongly ecological approach to landscape planning remained a central concern of Brown's. It is a testament to McHarg's extraordinary influence that he taught and inspired so many of the finest British landscape architects of Brown's generation.

Brown also worked for a short time in Vermont with the eminent designer Dan Kiley, where projects included the landscape for the Rockefeller Institute, New York. Brown wanted to stay on, but his wife Joan persuaded him that they should return to Britain to live in the country and educate their three small children.

After a number of attempts to buy a house in Oxfordshire, the family settled in London and Brown began work as a landscape architect for Eric Lyons.

In 1962 he set up on his own, at first from the back room and then from a rented corner shop with designers' drawing boards bolted on to a number of old doors he had salvaged. From the mid-Sixties the office expanded and tended to specialise in landscape design for housing.

By the mid-Seventies, Brown was running one of the largest practices in the country with 20 staff. However, with the demise of the public housing programme and the reorganisation of the London boroughs the work began to tail off and he became progressively more preoccupied with broader issues. He set up his own conference and field study centre to explore new ideas on a range of issues including ecology, sustainability, Yoga, Buddhism and landscape design. In 1981, with no warning, he dissolved the partnership to give himself greater freedom to follow his interests.

He re-established a smaller practice with most of the work coming from the private sector. His most notable scheme of this later period was the headquarters of Redland Brick at Hor-

deck access housing. He used sinuous paths, scattered groves of trees and subtly contoured brick surfaces or grass banks to achieve a quiet sense of adventure. A small sandpit in the office helped envisage the effects of proposed land modelling.

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Brown: messianic conviction

sham, which won the Brick Development Association award in 1987, but few of his other clients were as indulgent or as sympathetic to his ideals. He found the sharp commercialism of the Eighties, with flash clients and their attendant troupe of impatient project managers, hard to stomach, but he enjoyed giving the new boys a run for their money. I recall one occasion when a large commercial project was running late, with heavy penalty clauses being threatened by the client. Brown called the design team outside to inspect some unsatisfactory earth shaping. He lay on the ground, to demonstrate that the slope was all of three inches out of true – the imperfection was more readily discernible from this position. An assortment of 20 design professionals looked on in amazement. At the time, I was acutely embarrassed, but with hindsight can only admire the courage of conviction and perfectionism which guided his entire approach to design and meant that he was impervious to the petty embarrassment most of us do so much to avoid.

Always wearing trainers and a wide grin, Brown cut an animated and outlandish figure. He had a great thirst for knowledge and contributed to public debate. He remained deeply concerned about the health of the planet and the spiritual quality of life. Landscape design was for him a way of improving both.

Tom Stuart-Smith

**Michael Brown, landscape architect; born 8 May 1922; married Joan Bradford (two sons, one daughter; marriage dissolved); died 30 February 1996**

One of the great impresarios of television, and certainly one of the wittiest and most self-deprecating. Gerald Savory was curiously undervalued in his time. Amongst other achievements, his first stage play, written at the age of 27, ran for two years; he worked for Alfred Hitchcock and was taken by him to Hollywood, he gave Grace Kelly her first job in Chicago; directed five television in New York; adapted classics for television and spent eight years at BBC television as a drama executive at a boom time in the 1960s and 1970s.

His first and second jobs were as stockbroker's clerk and private tutor, but in 1931 he started acting, against the wishes of his mother, Grace Lane, who was herself an actress. The first play he wrote, *George and Margaret*, ran 799 performances in the West End and was filmed in 1940, by which time Savory had become an American citizen, rewriting other people's scripts in California.

He was unceremoniously fired from MGM after he refused to work on *Anna and the King of Siam* because he couldn't stand "the Swedish cow", as he referred to Greta Garbo. After directing

summer stock in Chicago, he was introduced by Grace Kelly's father to directing television in New York, including *The Robert Montgomery Hour*. He told me how when he directed Lon Chaney Jr on television, Chaney had mistakenly put his hand in the transmission for a dress rehearsal with hilarious results.

I met him at Granada in 1964 where he was on a regular writer/producer contract, adapting *Saki*, *J.B. Priestley*, *Noel Coward* and *Tennessee Williams* with great elegance, producing *Giles Cooper*, *Philip Mackie* and many others. He had been persuaded to join the company, as had many at the time, as a result of his experience in American television.

Silvery-haired, softly spoken and urbane, Gerald Savory was considered even to lowly beings, as opposed to the macho, shouting, drunken style of many Granada producers of the day. He had been persuaded to join the company, as had many at the time, as a result of his experience in American television.

He left Granada in 1965 to go to BBC Television as Head of Serials. By 1969 he was Head of Plays and to my enormous surprise, asked me to produce for BBC2. It didn't matter to him that I'd never been near a television play before, so I accepted. The first job was a 1970

version entitled *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 540 minutes of BBC2's first in colour.

He kept the lightest of hands on the tiller, but the Seventies were a boom time for him. From his department came *Cathy Come Home*, *Edna, The Inebriate Woman*, *In Two Minds* (Merger); *Mad Jack*; *The Lie (Bergman)*; and *Cider With Rosie*. *Henry VIII* was a hit and for him refused to consider the obvious sequel. "The best sequel," he decided, "is no sequel." Eventually he relented. "I can be as small-minded as the next man," he said, and *Elizabeth R* followed. Then

came *Dering Potter's Casanova* in 1971, which he agreed to in a matter of minutes, though it was a risky project even for the Seventies. He wrote me a rare memo to protect himself. "You assured me," went one paragraph, "that the naked nun in Episode 5 would be shot with circumspection."

You might meet Vincent Price or Louis Jourdan at the parties he and his delightful wife Sheila would give in their Mayfair flat, but there was no doubt of the people he really didn't care for. He had a low tolerance for pretension and a then unfashionable wish to improve his audience. But he let producers get on with what they wanted to do without much interference. Stopping one in the corridor, Gerald asked how the producer's new show had turned out. "Well," said he, "when it's been shortened a bit and has all its effects and music, it'll be fine."

"Bad as that, eh?" said Gerald, Mark Shivas

**Gerald Douglas Savory, playwright and television producer; born 17 November 1909; four times married; died 9 February 1996.**

## Lord Marshall of Goring

In 1956, a couple of years after his doctorate, Walter Marshall, as a young Scientific Officer at Harwell, attended a Summer School on Magnetism at Varenna on Lake Como, in the company of some of the greatest authorities on that subject, writes Professor Nicholas Korti [further to the obituary to

John Baker, 26 February]. The deep impression made by this brilliant young physicist is proved by the fact that Professor J.H. van Vleck of Harvard and Professor C. Kittel of the University of California, Berkeley invited him to spend a year in each of their respective departments. After his return to

AERE it was largely thanks to his dynamic leadership and personal contributions that Harwell became one of the leading centres for solid state physics. Marshall's own research covered many topics such as hyperfine structure in ferromagnetics, and the use of simple but powerful mathematical techniques, and not his Directorship of Harwell, that earned him the Fellowship of the Royal Society.

He died 12 March 1996.

**ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS:**

The Queen and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, are to receive an award for services to the Royal Air Force, attended by the Duke of Edinburgh's Award, at St James's Palace, London SW1.

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# BSkyB makes first move into Europe

MATTHEW HORSMAN  
 Media Editor

Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB yesterday plunged into the Continental pay-TV market, spending \$270m for a 25 per cent stake in Premiere, the leading German channel that holds the rights to Bundesliga football, Germany's version of the Premiership.

The investment will be swiftly followed by a strategic alliance with three Continental media companies - Havaas, Canal Plus and Bertelsmann - to develop digital television, in a move that heralds far closer co-operation among the big European pay-television players. BSkyB, 40 per cent owned by

Mr Murdoch's News Corporation, had been widely tipped to expand from its UK base, using its financial might to gain a foothold in the main European markets. Sky is Europe's largest pay-TV company, and controversially dominates the subscription market in the UK. Its growth has been powered by exclusive rights to broadcast football, Germany's version of the Premiership.

Yesterday's developments finally give Mr Murdoch a foothold in the developing digital television market on the Continent. He is already a main partner of MCI in a planned US digital service.

The new alliance, presently called Newco, will be owned 30 per cent by BSkyB, 30 per

cent by Canal Plus, the pioneering French pay-TV company, and 30 per cent by Bertelsmann, the German publishing and TV giant. Between them, the three have secured most of the slots available on the digital satellites being launched by Asira, the Luxembourg-based satellite company, over the next year.

Bertelsmann and Mr Murdoch's parent company, News Corp, already share a pay-TV channel, Vox, in Germany. Yesterday's announcement is unlikely to alter that arrangement.

Havaas, the French media company, will hold a non-voting 10 per cent stake in the new alliance. It will also have an indirect stake via its 24 per

cent stake in Canal Plus, Premiere, which has 1.1 million subscribers, is currently owned by the Kirch Group, Bertelsmann and Canal Plus. Following BSkyB's investment, the four companies will each hold 25 per cent of the channel.

Premiere's digital service is scheduled to be launched in Germany within a few months, and will give BSkyB its first opportunity to manage a new generation of satellite services.

BSkyB is believed to be behind the successful introduction of digital satellite TV in Germany, the biggest European market, will bring down the cost of developing similar services in the UK.

None the less, analysts expect the company to move slowly in

its core British market, where it is already the dominant provider of pay-TV on analogue. It is not in Sky's interest to move too early in the UK, given how much money it has managed to generate through its existing satellite services," said one leading City analyst.

BSkyB has been looking at Continental investments for several months, and seriously considered taking a stake in CLT, the Luxembourg-based media company that has extensive UK media interests.

A 61 per cent controlling stake in CLT has been put up for sale by Groupe Bruxelles Lambert, the financial services conglomerate, but BSkyB is believed to have been put off by the asking price.



Football fan: Rupert Murdoch now has Bundesliga interests

Premiere, which serves German-language markets throughout Europe, has net assets of about DM60m, and had

losses of DM71m in the year to June 1995. It is hedged to break even in the fiscal year ending June 1997.

BSkyB is paying the equivalent of about \$1,000 per Premiere subscriber, compared with a figure of \$2,500 per subscriber used to price the BSkyB flotation two 18 months ago.

Sky currently has more than 5 million subscribers in the UK, including those served by cable.

Its hold on the UK pay-TV market has attracted the attention of the Office of Fair Trading, which is currently investigating the company's supply of programming to the cable industry.

Comment, page 20

German jobless total hits record 4m total

DIANE COYLE  
 Economics Correspondent

German unemployment reached a new post-war record of almost 4 million last month. A shock increase during February raised the spectre of recession in Europe's biggest economy.

Economists predicted that unemployment would continue to rise for at least several more months, even though many expect the Bundesbank to cut its key discount rate within weeks. Ralph Stippel, at JP Morgan in Frankfurt, said: "The unemployment number will confirm to the Bundesbank that the economy is heading for a slump and give them more scope to ease monetary policy."

Figures for Germany's GDP today could show that the economy contracted in the final quarter of 1995. The first quarter of 1996 is likely to turn out even weaker, and two successive quarters of negative growth would put the economy formally in recession.

The Government's official forecast predicts growth of 1.5 per cent this year, but others believe it will be lower. In a sign of the increasing gloom about prospects, the influential publication *Wirtschaftswoche* today forecasts zero growth.

Slow growth and rising unemployment will put additional pressure on the government's budget. The deficit last year amounted to 3.6 per cent of GDP, above the 3 per cent limit set by the Maastricht Treaty. The European Commission said yesterday that slower growth would make it harder for EU states to qualify for the single currency. It published a lower forecast of EU growth this year, down to 2 per cent from 2.6 per cent, but called this a "pause".

"Meeting the Maastricht target is at the top of the agenda. There will be no money for solutions to unemployment," said Holger Fahrnkug, an economist at investment bank UBS in Frankfurt. The pan-German unemployment total, adjusted for normal seasonal fluctuations, jumped by 107,000 to 3,965,000 last month. The increase was more than twice the figure that economists had forecast. The unadjusted total, the focus of attention in Germany, climbed to 4,270,000 from 4,159,000 in January.

The seasonally adjusted unemployment rate was 10.3 per cent compared to only 7.9 per cent in the UK but 11.8 per cent in France. The Banque de France is expected to cut its official interest rates today.

The scale of the increase in German unemployment last month was partly explained by unusually harsh weather hitting the construction industry. Construction output, already in decline, is likely to drop 3 per cent in 1996 according to a trade association forecast.

Günther Rexrodt, the Economics Minister, said: "The current level of unemployment in Germany is an unbearable burden." He said the economy was not in recession, but added that wage demands had to be reasonable.

## BAT profits from rise in smoking

TOM STEVENSON  
 City Editor

Soaring sales of BAT's 250 brands of cigarettes pushed profits at the tobacco to financial services conglomerate to record levels last year. Growing numbers of smokers around the developing world more than made up for the damage still being inflicted on the group's financial services arm by alleged mis-selling of personal pensions.

New chairman Lord Cairns, who recently took over from Sir Patrick Sheehy, dismissed talk

of a possible demerger of the two sides of BAT but left the door open on a rumoured takeover of Hanson's tobacco subsidiary Imperial.

Describing 1995 as an outstanding year for BAT, he warned that growth this year would not match the underlying 21 per cent rise in group profit in the 12 months to December. He also heralded an imminent shake-up of the financial services division where teams are currently reporting on ways to reduce duplication of resources between life insurer Allied Dunbar, general cover provider Eagle Star and the newly formed Threadneedle Asset Management.

There was no indication of potential job losses in financial services but the company added:

of a possible demerger of the two sides of BAT but left the door open on a rumoured takeover of Hanson's tobacco subsidiary Imperial.

Despite the lack of obvious synergy between BAT's tobacco and insurance activities, he also poured cold water on expectations that the group would follow Hanson down the demerger route to shareholder value.

Profits from financial services broke through the £1bn barrier for the first time with profits from Eagle Star in the UK and Farmers in the US strongly ahead. Allied Dunbar, which provides the bulk of BAT's life assurance sales, saw its contribution fall 28 per cent to £153m.

There was no indication of potential job losses in financial services but the company added:

## Exchange firms want time to make changes

JOHN EISENHAMMER  
 Financial Editor

The Stock Exchange is expected to recommend a mixed system of share trading in London following publication yesterday of the results of its largest market consultation programme. The responses exposed deep rifts over replacing Lon-

don's traditional market-making system with the kind of electronic dealing system common in other major financial centres.

The consultation showed broad support for reform and widespread expectation that some form of order-driven dealing system will be introduced. But it also revealed opposition among the most influential sin-

gle group of powerful market makers and big institutions. The responses called, overwhelmingly, for more time to prepare for the changes.

"The message is not as clear as we would have liked, but there is a mandate for change," said an exchange source. A recommendation for change will be put to the Stock Exchange board on

21 March. There will then be a second phase of consultation on the details and timing.

Most firms felt that between nine and 12 months would be needed to develop and test systems after the detailed regulations for the new structure were released.

The exchange is expected to recommend a three-tier system.

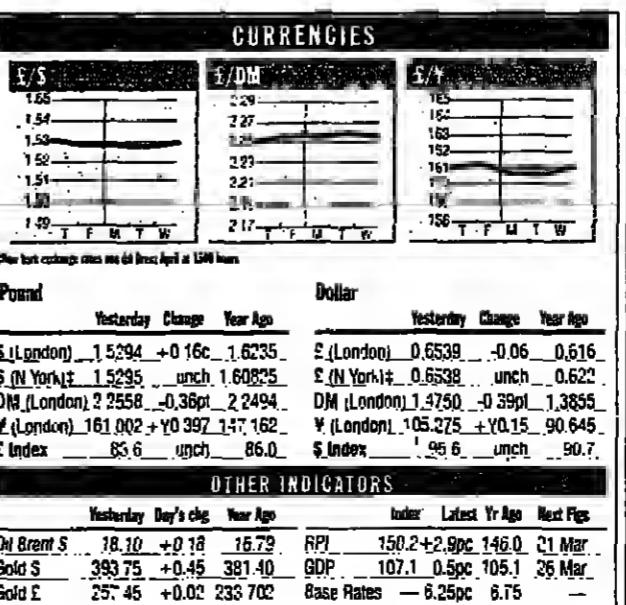
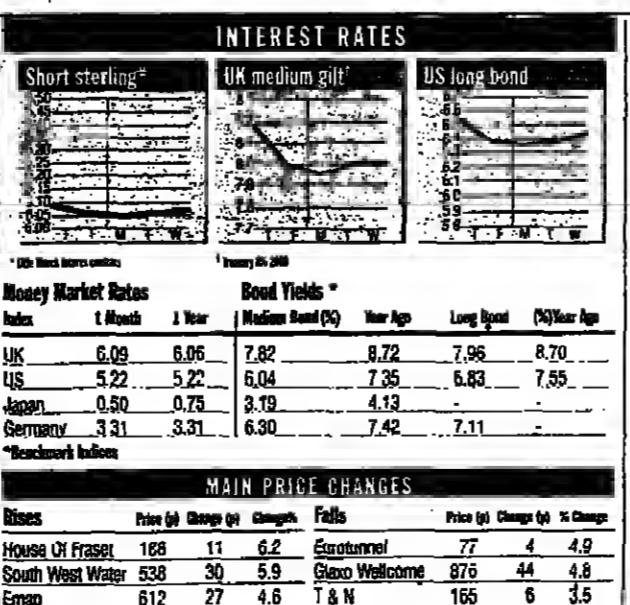
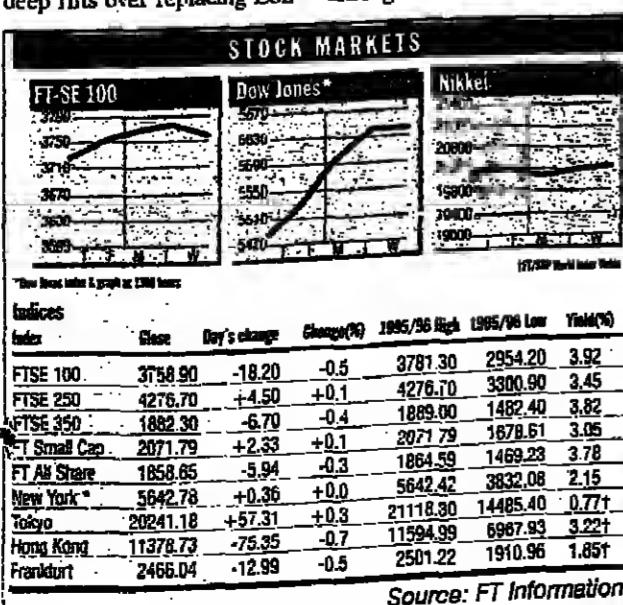
which would introduce order-driven dealing for small trades in the top FTSE stocks, while enabling the traditional market making system to continue for medium to big trades, as well as negotiated deals for the very large trades.

This would allow market makers to continue to dominate trading with the exchange hop-

ing that the size of trades done by order-driven dealing can be expanded progressively.

The forthcoming battle will revolve around the initial size of trades to be allowed on the on-der system - and how they will interact with the large, block trades conducted by the market makers.

Comment, page 21



Door-to-door to Abu Dhabi.

Emirates

Like the limo!

THE FINEST IN THE SKY

COMPENSATORY LIMOUSINE WHEN YOU FLY FIRST OR BUSINESS CLASS TO THE GULF WITH AWARD-WINNING EMIRATES CALL US OR YOUR TRAVEL AGENT.

# House of Fraser chief is forced to quit

NIGEL COPE

The lamentable record at the House of Fraser department store group finally took its toll yesterday when the group's managing director, Andrew Jennings, was forced out by the non-executive directors.

His departure, with immediate effect, follows a period which has seen House of Fraser issue four profits warnings in its two years as a public company. Separately, merchandise director Rebecca Sharp is to leave just four months after joining. She is leaving of her own volition to take a job in Italy.

Mr Jennings joined House of Fraser in 1992. He was on a salary of £270,000 a year and had a one year contract. He also

holds 440,000 share options at 180p, which become exercisable next year.

The chairman, Brian McGowan, is to take over the day-to-day running of the Dickens & Jones and Army & Navy group until a new managing director is appointed. Mr McGowan's own position has been under threat after he staked his reputation on the company's success.

Speculation has been rife that the former Storehouse chief executive, David Dworkin, is in line for Mr Jennings' position. The company said yesterday that it had had no communication with Mr Dworkin. "We will consider anybody qualified for the job. The main priority is to spend

time getting it right," a spokesman said.

The market reacted with relief that some change had at last been effected. The shares jumped 11p to 188p compared

with the 180p issue price two years ago.

John Richards at NatWest Securities said: "House of Fraser is one of those companies that had got to the stage where any

change would be deemed as good news."

Tony Shiret at BZW said the market had over-reacted to the management changes. "The shares are still overvalued. They need a credible replacement as chief executive and the performance has to improve."

Institutions had expressed concern about the performance of the company, though it is thought they had not exerted direct pressure for boardroom changes. One institutional shareholder said: "The board has probably done the right thing. The record has obviously been very disappointing."

House of Fraser's non-executive directors include Ian Martin, the chairman of Unigate, who also heads the UK division

of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts, the leveraged buyout specialists.

House of Fraser came to the stock market with great fanfare in April 1992. The well known department store names and the presence on the board of Mr McGowan, the former Williams Holdings star, lured in more than 100,000 private investors. But the company has been beset by problems ever since. Its buying and stock control has been poor, resulting in drastic discounting, which has affected margins.

The final straw for management was the latest profits warning in January. The company said a good Christmas had not been enough to make up for a grim autumn when stores were left with vast stocks of unsold coats and winter garments.

Newspapers are often

accused of being

interested in negative stories.

How nice, then, to record that the Prudential received glowing praise from the press in the final quarter of 1995.

British Gas, unsurprisingly, received a real hammering. According to the latest Presswatch Quarterly, which

counts up how many positive and negative reports on companies appear in the national press, the Prudential finished top with a rating of 738. Asda closed the quarter in second position with 668. Others in the top five were Rover with 665, Fiat with 655 and National Savings with 607.

The companies which

came bottom make up a PR

nightmare: Out of the 1135

companies surveyed British

Gas came bottom with -2077.

British Rail scored -1277,

Trafalgar House -1287,

Cable & Wireless -965 and

BT -763. Bob Hoskins

notwithstanding, alcohol and tobacco companies did better than utilities while for some strange reason, accountancy firms got an average -62. Do we really hate the bean counters so much?

You've been sacked. You

thirst for revenge. Maxim

magazine has come up with a

number of tips for what to do

when you're given 20 minutes

to clear your desk.

Grah some letterheads and

launch a negative PR cam-

paign by sending out crazed

rubbish to clients ("Please be

warned that the ToastiGlow

toilet seat warmer you have just purchased may be liable to explosions.") or the

local press ("ToastiGlow Boss in Sex Romp with Underage Nun and Halibut Shock!").

Now that photocopy repair men are well dressed, no one will challenge you and a couple of your mates as you carry the office Minolta

away. This also works with fax machines.

The magazine also sug-

gests poaching the secretary.

"They've taken your job, you

take their women." Another

tip: distribute other members

of staff's business cards while

drunk and disorderly at

parties.

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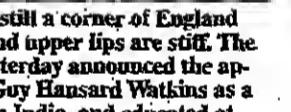
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Its good to know that there is still a corner of England where bowler hats are worn and upper lips are stiff. The British Bloodstock Agency yesterday announced the appointment of Major General Guy Hansard Watson as a non-executive director. Born in India, and educated at The King's School, Canterbury, he was commissioned into the Royal Artillery in 1953. An amateur jockey in Hong Kong, he joined the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club when he retired from the army. The agency's activities include purchasing, shipping, stallion management and bloodlines. Make mine a gin and tonic, old boy.

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COMMENT

'The CBI's attack on Britain's Euro-muddle would be more convincing if the employers themselves were not so wholeheartedly behind the opt-out from the social chapter'

## No sulks, please, we're pro-Europe, says CBI

Who could Niall FitzGerald and the CBI possibly be talking about when they complain about extreme and emotive arguments over the future of the European Union, an absence of rational debate and a 'log of rhetoric' that obscures business priorities? The chairman-designate of Unilever, who also heads the CBI's Europe committee, yesterday ducked and weaved to avoid agreeing openly with suggestions that the employers were attacking John Major's government. After spending so much time over the last few months insisting on its political neutrality, the CBI could hardly make this a party political issue.

Yet it is difficult to see who else the employers meant in their catalogue of criticism of British obscurantism, ignorance and muddle over the development of policy towards Europe, if it was not the government responsible for overseeing negotiations on the future shape of the union.

The UK could only participate fully in political and economic decision-making if it 're-establishes its credibility as a constructive force committed to the European Union,' said the CBI, which went on to thumb the table about how business had to make its views heard loudly and often in the run-up to the start of the inter-governmental conference later this month.

As for monetary union, Mr FitzGerald moaned that the issue obscured other European Union priorities to do with improving competitiveness, growth and employment

opportunities. EMU had 'so hijacked the political debate here and elsewhere that there is almost a total absence of genuine understanding of the underlying economic arguments for and against,' he said.

The occasion was the launch of a three-month education and lobbying campaign, *Business in Europe*, which Mr FitzGerald claimed would bring a 'much needed clarity to the UK's Euro-vision.'

It is certainly true that inward-looking British squabbles about Europe are hard for continental managers to comprehend, especially in great pan-European multinationals such as Unilever. The message is that we have got to get in there and fight from the inside with real commitment and common sense. However, the CBI's attack on Britain's Euro-muddle would be more convincing if the employers themselves were not so wholeheartedly behind the opt-out from the social chapter. Whatever the rights and wrongs of social legislation in raising costs for business, the opt-out is a prime example of Britain's preference for sulking outside the ring rather than going inside to fight.

### Evolution, rather than another Big Bang

The full folly of Michael Lawrence's crusade for a revolution in the way shares are traded in London has now been exposed. Listening to the bravura performance by the

sacked chief executive of the Stock Exchange before the Treasury select committee last week, it appeared that the UK market was crying out for the introduction of the sort of automated trading system which is common in all other international financial centres.

Unfortunately, Mr Lawrence claimed, the necessary process of change was mugged by a couple of macho market masters from BZW and Merrill Lynch (aka Smith New Court) who, seeking to protect their pockets, had the chief executive kicked out.

Well, the market has spoken, but the cacophony of discordant voices making themselves heard in the exchange's consultation programme, made public yesterday, hardly amounts to a tidal wave of sympathy for the Lawrence cause.

Confusion, perplexity and a kaleidoscope of competing interests emerge - reflecting, only naturally, the huge diversity of needs among the exchange's members and users. Within this range of opinion can be found broad support for change, and for some form of order-driven trading. But it does not amount to the popular mandate for an order-driven revolution of the comprehensiveness Mr Lawrence had envisaged.

This is a withering indictment of the exchange's failure to build the case for change, a sad contrast with its conviction that the pressures for reform are widely recognised. The exchange clearly thinks the market making system has had its day. But it protests weakly that it could not go into the

world saying so, on the Gerald Ratner principle that if you call your own products crap, shareholders get upset and customers look elsewhere.

Mr Lawrence and friends have been calling the present system names and suffering the consequences. At the same time they have failed to prepare the ground for change. This risks precisely the market fragmentation the Stock Exchange fears most.

However, this is history, as is Mr Lawrence. The Exchange now has to navigate with a new chart, difficult though it is to interpret on the basis of the survey.

Within this disarray lies an opportunity of sorts, which the exchange must exploit more sensitively than its past attempts at reform. The market consultation does reveal a mandate for change. There will be no Big Bang: evolution is the game, rather than revolution.

### Exquisite timing from Mr Murdoch

Rupert Murdoch's push into continental pay-TV is, as is so often the case with the Dirty Digger, exquisitely timed. He has been on the run in Britain, following a fresh inquiry into his control of the UK pay-TV market and a bruising public debate over the pressures for reform are widely recognised. The exchange clearly thinks the market making system has had its day. But it protests weakly that it could not go into the

The alliance of Kirch, Bertelsmann, and Canal Plus in Germany is a powerhouse. More interesting for the future, however, is yesterday's second hit of news from BSkyB: the formation of a strategic alliance with Bertelsmann, Canal Plus and Havas to develop digital pay-TV across Europe.

This is the growth area par excellence, although it will be hellishly expensive to develop and probably highly competitive. Better to do it with partners, then, as Murdoch is already doing in the US.

But don't expect this grand alliance to operate in the UK. BSkyB has no intention of giving up its near-monopoly, built up over the past five years and the source of so much of Mr Murdoch's UK profits. With subscription revenues approaching the £1bn mark, making BSkyB easily the largest European pay-TV broadcaster, he will not want to share these lush pickings with partners. That means BSkyB is likely to drag its feet on the introduction of digital satellite television here until really pushed. The company is doing just fine with analogue broadcasting.

When BSkyB does decide to switch to digital, it will want to do so on its own terms and at its own rate. That means using its proprietary encryption technology and maybe even launching its own satellite for digital transmissions to the UK. Joint venturing is an excellent strategy for expanding into continental Europe, but hardly necessary at home.

## Mortgage lifeline for Lloyd's names

JOHN EISENHAMMER  
Financial Editor

Lloyd's of London is planning a special mortgage facility for hard-bit names designed to help them stay living in their homes while being able to meet their final payment into the insurance market's recovery plan.

The facility is designed to overcome the difficulties most names would face because of their age and their need to raise a substantial amount against their homes.

All names have funds deposited at Lloyd's to cover their underwriting. In a significant number of cases funds in effect amount to a pledge secured by a names' home. On Friday, Lloyd's is sending out individual interim statements to all 34,000 names, giving them a first estimate of what they must pay to re-insure all their liabilities into Equitas, the new company into which Lloyd's is biving off all the pre-1993 loss-making policies.

Some sort of Equitas premium, up to a maximum of £100,000 in a few thousand cases, will need to be paid by a majority of names, over and above their funds deposited at Lloyd's which will also be taken into account.

Although Lloyd's says it does not know how many names have pledged their homes as security, the number is believed to be significant. The idea of some form of mortgage deal to allow people to carry on living

in their homes while taking part in a final settlement of their Lloyd's affairs was first proposed by names representatives. It has been devised by specialist consultants and Lazard, the merchant bank, in conjunction with a small number of big mortgage lenders.

The scheme will reflect the fact that the average age of Lloyd's members is 58, and that they will not easily get 95 per cent mortgages elsewhere. But it will need a reasonably strong take-up to make the scheme feasible - in the order of £200m to £400m overall.

The planned facility will refinance an existing mortgage and advance further amounts to meet finality bills. The maximum amount available will be limited to the lower of the Equitas premium plus any existing mortgage; 100 per cent of house value or 3.75 times the applicant's annual income. The presence of a guarantor could enable larger sums to be raised.

Loans, which could be at a fixed rate, will generally mature in 25 years' time, irrespective of the age of borrower, with repayment arranged from life and pension policies or a special schedule.

Under the plan, names would not be required to take out insurance cover beyond any existing policies they may hold. Names will be able to express their interest in the scheme in a questionnaire to be included with the interim Equitas premium statements.

### IN BRIEF

#### Vickers profits soar to £75m

A 10 per cent rise in sales of Rolls-Royce cars helped Vickers, the defence and automotive giant, to a 67 per cent increase in pre-tax profits last year to £75m. The automotive division, which also includes specialist engine-maker Cosworth, saw profits almost double to £41m. Shrugging off production problems on the group's £1.5bn order for Challenger 2 tanks for the British Army, chief executive Sir Colin Chandler also dismissed renewed takeover speculation that had surrounded Vickers since late last year. The final dividend is increased to 4.3p, making 6.7p for the year.

#### House-building weakness continues

Private sector housing starts in January fell to their lowest level since November 1992. They declined to 9,400 from 10,900 in December, and were 16 per cent lower than a year earlier. Total housing starts, including local authority figures, were 11,100 compared with 14,300 a year earlier. Completions were up to 16,600 compared with 15,300. The figures confirmed the continuing weakness of house-building, one of the areas of the housing market that has yet to show any sign of recovery. Economists said bad weather and low confidence among builders explained the further decline.

#### Three more panels for Treasury

The Treasury announced yesterday that it has set up three new academic panels to provide sounding boards for work on labour markets, product markets and public services. They join its long-established panel of academic macro-economists and its high-profile panel of independent forecasters and newer industry panel. The new panels will each have a core of three academic members, though others will be invited to participate.

	Turnover £	Pre-tax £	EPS	Dividend
BAT Industries (F)	(-)	2.38m (1.88m)	47.7p (40p)	24p (21.9p)
Century Schaeffer (F)	4.77m (4.03m)	52.6m (47.8m)	37.4p (30.2p)	15p (15p)
Statoil (F)	10.5bn (5.6bn)	2.50m (1.93m)	50.3p (43.8p)	45p (1/-)
Genoa Pest Group (F)	72.1m (59.7m)	21.4m (8.42m)	3.07p (2.01p)	0.25p (nil)
TAH (F)	2.05m (1.94m)	12.0m (10.7m)	13.3p (-2.2p)	5p (10.85p)
Vickers (F)	1.14p (1.24m)	75.6m (44.8m)	15.6p (9.8p)	6.7p (6.75p)

(F) Final (I) Interim (N) New month's pro forma basis ↑ for 18 months

## B·A·T INDUSTRIES

### "An Outstanding Year"

#### Preliminary results for the year to 31 December 1995

PRE-TAX PROFIT	£2,384m	+26%
EARNINGS PER SHARE	47.70p	+19%
DIVIDENDS PER SHARE	24.00p	+10%
Additional FID payment on 1995 final	3.6875p	

- Pre-tax profit increased 26 per cent, from £1,885 million to £2,384 million, 21 per cent after excluding last year's £191 million reorganisation provision and the impact of disposals.
- Quantum leap forward for tobacco. Profit of £1,561 million, up 54 per cent, or 29 per cent excluding 1994's provision for reorganising American Tobacco. Cigarette sales rose 18 per cent to 670 billion. World market share grew from 10.7 per cent to 12.4 per cent.
- Robust performance in financial services. Trading profit up 7 per cent at £1,052 million, breaking £1 billion profit barrier for first time. General business profit rose 14 per cent to £624 million. Profit of £428 million from life and investment business was flat.
- Base dividend for year up 10 per cent. Total dividends, including Foreign Income Dividend additional payment, up 14 per cent.
- "Whether measured by pre-tax profit, earnings or dividend, 1995 was an outstanding year for B·A·T Industries. By developing and concentrating our management skills in financial services and tobacco, we are determined to continue delivering superior total returns for shareholders, over the long term."

Lord Cairns, Chairman

# market report/shares

## DATA BANK

FT-SE 100

3758.9 -18.2

FT-SE 250

4276.7 +4.5

FT-SE 350

1882.3 -6.7

SEAO VOLUME

836.3m shares,

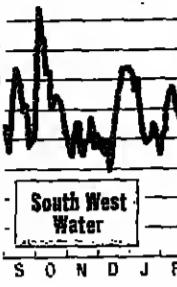
35,207 bargains

Gilt Index

93.74 -0.12

## SHARE SPOTLIGHT

share price, pence



Source: Datastream

Water shares could be emerging from the lethargy which has left them the poor relations of the stock market.

Most utility action has been generated by the electricities, with bids, real and rumoured, creating surges of excitement.

The main privatised water companies have been left out in the cold, with only one takeover bid to show between them.

Suspensions that their day will come created a swirl of interest. Thames, the biggest of them all, scored the best blue-chip gain of the day, up 15p at 553p in brisk trading.

The waters are offering some comforting dividend yields. Thames, for example, is on 5.8 per cent. They must look attractive against the returns offered by building societies.

But it was not merely solid investment attractions behind yesterday's gains.

South West Water jumped

30 to 538p on talk of a takeover splash. Anybody buying SWW could encounter regulatory problems.

It is Britain's highest-charging water authority and has been accused of wasting the contents of an entire reservoir during last year's drought. And it is one of four companies expected to experience drought problems this year.

Wessex Water, down 4p at 341p, is the favourite to swallow SWW although some believe a Continental predator could appear.

Anglian Water and Severn Trent were others to move ahead. United Utilities (water and electricity) rose 6p to 612p.

One of the industry's tiddlers, Brockhampton, improved 5p to 200p, with Butterfield Securities, the stockbroker, saying buy.

Suggestions that the Government was about to clear the

generators bids for Midlands and Southern Electricity made little impression. Midlands fell 8p to 400p and Southern rose 8p to 866p. Northern Electric gained 3p to 603p as analyst presentations got underway.

Yorkshire Electricity, the favourite for an electricity bid, fell another 10p to 793p.

The rest of the market had an uncertain session, fluttered by Glaxo Wellcome's results.

The realisation that Glaxo could be forced into another big takeover bid to keep up its drugs momentum lowered the shares 44p to 876p. Zeneca, with the fastest organic growth of the drug majors, lost 14p to

1281p although it is an obvious candidate for Glaxo. Cadbury Schweppes figures also disconcerted: the shares fell 19p to 536p.

Guinness, strong recently, had a lively time. Stories flew in early trading of a share buy-back or Guinness buying in the 20 per cent shareholding held by LVMH, the French group.

But an LVMH denial removed the froth and the shares ended 3p higher at 471p.

House of Fraser's boardroom changes were seen as inviting bid interest, lifting the shares 11p to 188p. Alders, also perceived as a bid candidate, gained 6p to 187p.

BT tumbled 9p to 367.5p as the Government said it was thinking of encouraging more competition. Cable and Wireless fell 4p to 450p.

VisualAction, born out of the Samuelsohn film equipment division of tarnished Eagle Trust, reached 230p from its 185p placing price. Turnover was more than four million shares. Inn Business, the pubs chain which used to be called United Breweries, returned at 53p, a 4 per cent advance on the suspension level.

Blenheim, the exhibition group, jumped 26p to 272p after Panmure Gordon placed a 500,000 block which had been held for some time.

Faber Prest, the distributor, crumpled 13p to 415p following a profit warning and Tracker Network, a car security group, reversed 120p to 635p; figures are due next month.

Takeover favourite Ladbrokes, ahead of figures today, candered 4p higher at 184p.

Europide Electron, the electronic components group, grew tired of waiting for the renamed ElektroWatt sale of its 42 per cent stake, falling 12p to 298p. There were suggestions a deal ElektroWatt had agreed at 360p a share had been pulled.

House-builders strengthened on continuing hopes of an interest rate cut and NatWest Securities support. The investment house regards Bryant and Bellway as the best of the bunch.

Raines gained 4p to 19p as chairman Roy Barber purchased 500,000 shares at 15p and 16p.

Imagin rose 3p to 33p. Its plan to convert into an investment trust seem to be going ahead which means it will sell its car parts, spinning and property operations.

## TAKING STOCK

Jupiter Tyndall, the fund management group, controlled by Commerzbank of Germany, seems to be moving towards mounting a bid for Aberdeen Trust, up 5p at 127p.

Nearly a year after lifting its stake to 15 per cent, the Jupiter group has taken its interest to 29.2 per cent. It acquired shares from Scottish value which had been regarded as a possible Aberdeen predator.

Tullow Oil, with prized gas interests in Pakistan, jumped 3.5p to 75.5p in a sudden flurry of buying.

Stories flowing from Dublin suggested a bid was near with British Gas one of the names. The group's Pakistan interests are thought to be attracting enviable glances. A power station drawing on Tullow's gas is planned.

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their he

## Water companies could be about to make a splash

### MARKET REPORT

#### DEREK PAIN

Stock market reporter of the year



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### MARK





# Mulligan rewards a fighting Chance

As career moves go, it must be one of the best since Richard Branson decided to shift a few records.

Less than 11 months ago, Noel Chance was in charge of a small string of horses on the Curragh, "farming little races up north" to make ends meet. On 1 May 1995 he moved to Lambourn. Seven months later he saddled his biggest winner in 20 years with a licence when Mr Mulligan won a Grade Two novice chase at Wetherby. He did so again when the same horse ran away with the Reynoldstown Chase at Ascot. Now, Mr Mulligan is the 7-4 favourite for the Sun Alliance Chase at Cheltenham next week and Chance's achievement curve is tending towards the vertical.

Not that you would know it from meeting him. Noel Chance is not one of life's worriers. Sharp, thoughtful and remorselessly good-humoured, the trainer knows that success at Cheltenham would simply be a bonus after an exceptional first season in Britain. "It's such a thrill to have a runner at the Festival," he says. "I never mind a favourite. But whatever happens, Michael Worcester [Mr Mulligan's owner] and I are agreed that Ascot was the one that really mattered."

It was at Worcester's invitation that Chance moved to Lambourn after two decades on the Curragh. Worcester, whose ice cream firm did well last summer, owns 12 of Chance's 14 horses and pays the trainer a salary. This frees Chance from much of the number-juggling which preoccupies many trainers, and allows him to spend more time with his horses.

When the offer came, it did not require extended consideration. "I'm impulsive," Chance says. "If you ask me to drive you to the airport I'll want to get on the plane with you. It was an easy decision to make, only then I had to sell it to my wife and kids. But they've settled in well and we're not that far from Ireland."

It was not simply the opportunities on offer in Britain that prompted Chance's relocation, but the lack of them in his native country. "I could see things weren't going to get any better. There's good prize money there, but it's impossible to win any of it, so what's the point for fellers like me? The Aga Khan has 70 or 80 horses in training. Sheikh Mohammed has the same, and while those guys are good for the industry they're not good for the small trainer. You'd go to remote places to try and sneak a race and you'll still find these guys."

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Though Worcester owns all but two of his horses, Chance remains a public trainer and would like to fill a few more of his 26 boxes. Victory for Mr Mulligan would, of course, be a priceless advertisement, and while many, quite naturally, have tried to find flaws in the favourite, Chance has gone to a good deal of trouble to keep imperfections to a minimum.

"We have a plan for all our horses," he says. "We started them at Bangor where there were stiff fences but not much serious opposition, and he learned a lot, so much so that at Wetherby he jumped from fence to fence. But it's fairly flat there so then we wanted to run him somewhere with a downhill fence. The first at Ascot was downhill and they go to it at a hell of a pace, but he's shortened and did it nicely."

"There's those who say Cheltenham won't suit him, but he

has three point-to-points in Ireland and I would hate to tell you what those tracks would be like. If he can get around there he can get around Cheltenham."

Not does Chance's plan terminate at this year's Festival. Win or lose, it will be Mr Mulligan's last race of the season, but already his schedule for 1996-97 is in place: the Charlie

who took a gamble.

One Man jumps 'like a bird' in public work-out

One Man came through his final rehearsal for the Cheltenham Gold Cup a week today without fluffing his lines before a large audience at Carlisle racecourse yesterday.

The grey completed a satisfactory work-out of jumping three fences and having a stiff work-out around the two-mile circuit under Richard Duxbury. That delighted his train-

er, Gordon Richards, but failed to impress Coral's representative, Rob Hartnett, who extended the grey's odds to 5-4 from 6-5.

"We weren't disappointed with his gallop but we weren't particularly impressed either," Hartnett said. "He got close to one fence and was outjumped at another so we have to ease him." We also feel that the ground

is going against Alderbrook in the Champion Hurdle and there is a question mark over the form of his Kempton win so we think he is only a 50-50 chance. He is our even favourite from 10-11."

Richards had a different view of One Man's exercise. "I'm very happy with his work-out," the trainer said. "He came over the fences like a bird and does

everything easy. It's the first time Richard has jumped with him since the King George and he was very pleased with him. I was pleased with him before I brought him here and I'm going home even more pleased."

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# sport

## Football in this country has not benefited but suffered from the interpretation of laws that Fifa ordered for the 1994 World Cup

Most of my younger colleagues, and even some older brethren who really should know better, never let any light fall on the fact that footballers of 20 and more years ago were generally tougher than the present crop of heroes.

Nobody has to take my word for this because proof is available weekly on the Sky Gold programme *Bob by Charlton's Scrapbook*. The matches are in black and white but the colour blue, as in bruises, is never difficult to imagine.

The most recent offering featured Leeds United, circa 1970, and their Republic of Ireland international, John Giles, who was unquestionably one of the most skilful and combative inside-forwards of his generation.

When questioned by the programme's veteran presenter, Dickie Davis, and in common with all previous guests, Giles agreed immediately that the tackling was more hurtful in his time, and players had not yet developed the tiresome modern habit of going down as though picked off by a sniper.

Another point both Charlton and Giles made was that players were rarely booked – never mind sent off – which is the risk all of them today appear to be taking. "We did some bad things," Giles admitted, "but the unwritten rule was that you took knocks and got on with it."

A personal view, and no excuse is offered for returning to a recent theme, is that football in this coun-

try has not benefited but suffered from the interpretation of the laws that the governing body of world football, Fifa, ordered for the 1994 World Cup finals. The result is that we have a version of the game quite a long way from what its inventors intended. Putting it bluntly, players are now frightened to tackle. The slightest mistake in application and tiring leads to a yellow card and thus an inhibited performance. Having been introduced to this quite ludicrous restriction the audience reacts accordingly.

I will not bore you with the number of times I have recently discussed this with managers in the Premier and Endersleigh Leagues, but all agree that the approach demanded of referees



KEN JONES

by the four British associations, one that relates to retaining historical majority power as law-makers on the International Board, is to the game's long-term detriment.

The possibility that players on the

brink of suspension are instructed to invite cautions – the "tactical booking" implied this week by an official of the Football Association – so they will be available for important matches further up the line should not surprise anyone.

Confidence in referees is now running at such a low ebb that some clubs run thorough checks on their records. "It's important to know what we can expect," I was told this week. "For example, referees not far from retirement are less likely to go by the book and take notice of assessors than one who is trying to make an impression. We note how many yellow cards they've handed out, the number of dismissals. It's not a case of what we can get away with but who is going to give the players a fair crack of the whip."

It does not take much in the way of observation to realise that Eric Cantona, doubtless on the advice of Alex Ferguson, has hardly made a tackle since returning from suspension.

Why risk the bait-trigger wrath of referees by attempting something you are not very good at is probably the instruction Manchester United's manager gave sensibly to the naturally aggressive Frenchman.

Going a little deeper into this, the difficulties and comparative lack of success experienced by British attackers when performing internationally is not mysterious. Barring the best teams, and despite what many of today's amateur technicians

would have us believe, defensive play in the Premier League is pretty abysmal. The fear of being booked discourages defenders from marking properly and leads them into taking up false positions.

There are technical considerations but tackling is mainly about attitude, wanting the ball as I remember an old mentor saying. When bureaucratic pedantry is employed to suggest that desire there is a substantial case for overhauling the system.

An on-going truth about football is that there will always be people unhappy with the way things are proceeding. Trouble is that when it comes to the way referees are ordered to go about their work there are more and more of them.

## Thorpe to profit as middleman

**Derek Pringle** meets a batsman who has the technique to revive England

Like Rolex timepieces, the best left-handers have always appeared to impart grace and style. The sheer fluidity of Brian Lara's shots, the deft panache of John McEnroe's groundstrokes and the effortless grace of a Ryan Giggs body-swing are typical of the elevated levels of sporting achievement which are rarely equalled by those doing things the other way round.

So it comes as some surprise to find a nuggety, dependable and thoroughly undemonstrative left-hander such as Graham Thorpe described as England's best batsman, an accolade graciously bestowed by none other than the England captain himself after the Surrey man's superb series against the West Indies, where Thorpe's aggregate of 506 runs was the highest ever made against them by an Englishman.

Unfortunately for Thorpe, now 26, it was a billing he did not quite live up to until the last few weeks of England's unhappy tour of South Africa. By then his upturn in form could not reverse England's slide towards meek surrender, as the final Test and one-day series were lost in a fortnight of wretched performances.

Happily, apart from the occasional looseness of bowel suffered by most on this trip, his form with the bat has remained reassuringly solid, and he is Eng-



Graham Thorpe drives into his coffin case as he prepares to stave off a premature demise by England on Saturday.

Photograph: AFP/PA

land's leading run-scorer in the tournament, with 239 runs from three completed innings, as they go into Saturday's quarter-final against Sri Lanka in Faisalabad.

But like the man himself, his undemonstrative batting in the middle of the innings goes on almost unnoticed. With its clever placements and cheeky running, Thorpe is a batsman whose shot seldom find their way on to the half-hour highlights. Instead, he accumulates his runs with the skill and savvy of a Javed Miandad, playing shots all round the wicket but rarely taking risks until the situation forces him to.

"It's more or less the role I play for Surrey," he said. "When I get in, I just look to play through the innings, at somewhere near a run a ball depending on the state of the situation."

However, there are, he points out, glaring differences between the one-day cricket encountered here from the stereotyped stuff played at home. "For a start, we don't play any 50-over cricket, or any cricket at the moment that has field restrictions in the first 15 overs. It is such an important part of the competition over here, and yet we're still not sure what our best way of approaching it is."

"That wouldn't have happened if we'd have been playing something similar domestically for the past five years. If you can get off to a fly, like the Sri Lankans have been doing, it makes the middle and death overs so much easier for the batsmen."

That is not the only factor Thorpe feels is disorienting England's batsmen at present. "At home you feel confident of chasing anything up to eight or nine an over. But here, with the ball getting soft, you'd never want to be chasing much more than six, so it's important to take advantage at the start."

"I've also noticed that you come up against bowlers here who are trying to get you out.

Repairing that confidence is

never easy, particularly when it has spread through a team and off days have become the norm. The situation is compounded when there is little prospect of a decent rest to break the sequence.

"When you lose nine one-day internationals out of your last 12, your conviction starts to go and you begin to lose belief in yourselves as a team," Thorpe said. "Part of the problem is that you are only ever as good as yesterday's match and players are constantly having to prove that they can play at this level."

For England to go further than Faisalabad, Thorpe stresses

the need to remain positive and learn from what has gone before. "South Africa got hammered over here not so long ago, but they've managed to turn that round to their advantage. That's what we've got to do."

"There is no doubt that Sri Lanka are cock-a-hoop with confidence at the moment, after their recent run-scoring bonanza, and many people are expecting us to be going home on Sunday. But if we really believe we can win, we will. And if we do, it'll be just the boost we need for the semi-final in front of 100,000 in Calcutta."

## Sri Lankans set run record

**World Cup round-up**

**RUPERT METCALF**

Karachi and, in Madras, Australia take on New Zealand in another day/night encounter.

Yesterday's achievement came from the run-happy Sri Lankan team. Once again, Kavinda Aravinda de Silva led the way with a spectacular 145 as Sri Lanka reached 398 for 5 in their 50 overs – the highest total yet recorded in a one-day international. Kenya, still on a high after their dramatic victory over the West Indies last week, responded bravely to make 254 for 7 in 50 overs, of which the highlight was a brisk 96 by Steve Tikolo.

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Pakistan, put in by New Zealand, reached 281 for 5. With Saeed Anwar the top scorer with a hard-hit 62, Danny Morrison limped off with a groin strain after bowling just two overs and could not bat later as New Zealand's runnings was curtailed on 235 for 9.

After 424 runs in four matches, Sachin Tendulkar was due a failure. It arrived yesterday when he made just three in India's total of 247 for 5, but Vinod Kambli made amends with a measured 106. Zimbabwe could not recover from a middle-order collapse and were dismissed for 207.

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